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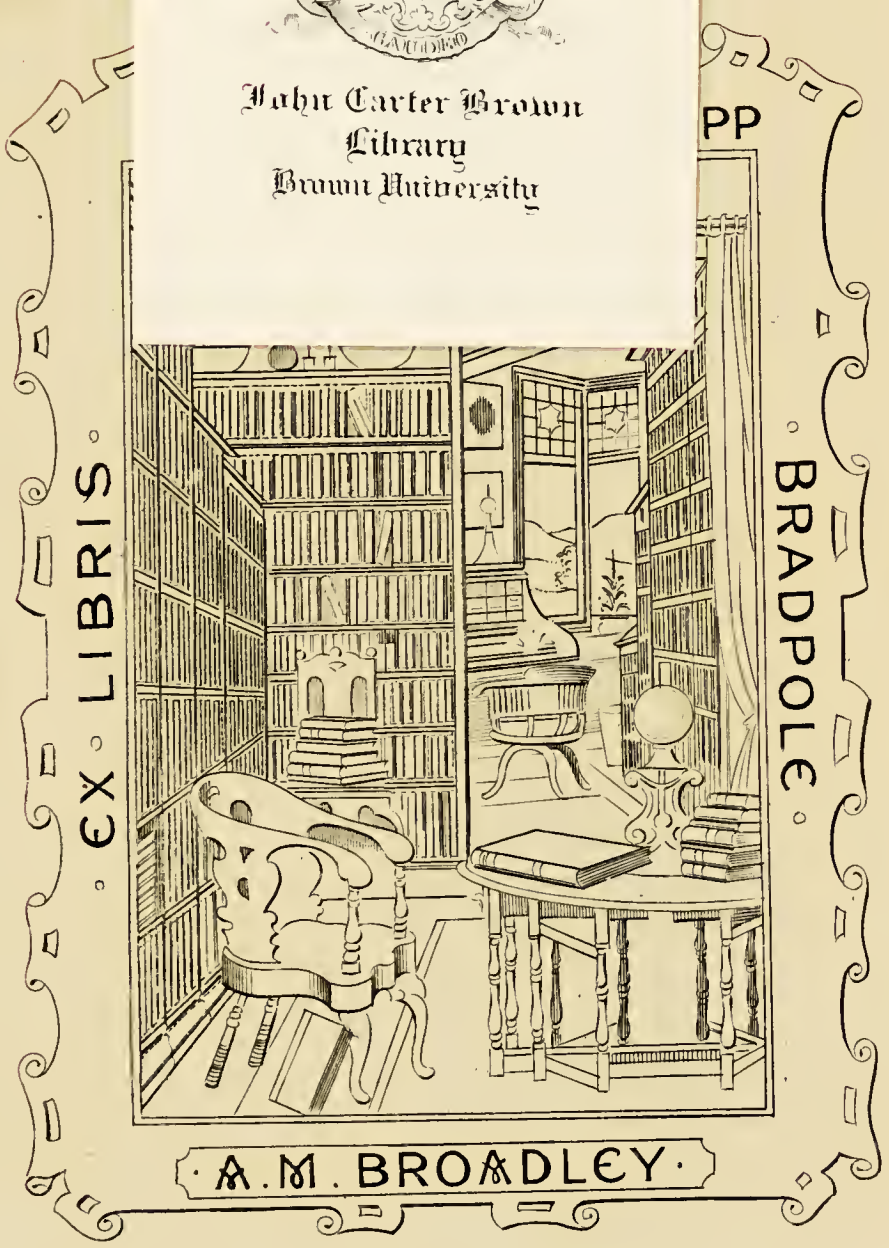

PERDA (Jean-Guillaume, duc de), fameux aventurier, favori et ministre du roi d'Espagne Philippe V, puis général de l'empereur du Maroc sous le nom d'*Osman-Pacha*, battu par les Espagnols devant Ceuta et disgracié, n. 1690, m. 1737.

L. s., avec la souscript. aut., au comte de Kinigsegg; le Pardo, 14 février 1726, 3 p. in-4. Très belle et rare pièce.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Duke *de Ripperda.*

RPJCB

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Duke *de Ripperda*:

FIRST

EMBASSADOR from the *States-General* to his Moſt *Catholick* Majeſty,

Then DUKE and GRANDEE of *Spain*;

AFTERWARDS

BASHAW and PRIME MINISTER to *Muly Abdalla*, Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*, &c.

CONTAINING

A Succinct Account of the moſt Remarkable Events which happen'd between 1715 and 1736.

Interſpers'd throughout with

Several Curious Particulars relating to the Cardinals DEL GIUDICE, and ALBERONI, the Princeſs of URSINS, Prince CELLAMERE, the Marquis BERETTI LANDI, M. DE SANTA CRUZ, and other Perſons of Diſtinction in the *Spaniſh* Court.

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LONDON:

Printed for JOHN STAGG, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and DANIEL BROWNE, at the *Black-Swan*, without *Temple-Bar*. M.DCC.XL.

BPUCB

PREFACE.

HIſtorical *Accounts of Embaſſadors, Stateſmen, and Prime Miniſters, their Negotiations, Schemes and Succeſſes, as they are curious, full of Incidents, inſtructive in their Nature, and abſolutely neceſſary for the Knowledge of Mankind, have been always honoured with a favourable Reception: Eſpecially where they have been written with Candour and Integrity, with a view of ſetting Truth in a full Light, without Heightning or Diſguiſe. For though it be true, that Satires and Invectives are at*

firſt more eagerly read, and ſought with greater Avidity than true Hiſtories, yet by degrees as the Edge of perſonal Malice wears off, thoſe injurious Repreſentations loſe their Credit, and Poſterity wiſely prefer Sincerity to Spleen. On this account it is, that we ſee the Memoirs of great and good Miniſters univerſally eſteemed. The Life of Cardinal Amboiſe, *who governed the* French *Nation with all the Tenderneſs of a Parent, or to raiſe his Character higher, governed like the preſent* Cardinal-Miniſter: *This Life, I ſay, is read with general Applauſe. Men are pleaſed to ſee Piety, Wiſdom, and Good-Nature united with Title, Grandeur, and unlimited Power. The ſeveral Writers, who have ſought to do juſtice to* Ximenes *the great Stateſman of* Spain, *have each of them received a due Tribute of Praiſe; and it is certainly no ſmall Honour to the Memory of that illuſtrious Perſon, that two of the beſt Pens in* France *have within theſe few Years been employed in tranſmitting the Me-*

Memory of his great Actions to future times. Our own immortal Burghleigh, *whoſe Adminiſtration does honour to the* brighteſt *of the* Engliſh Reigns, *hath never met with the Aſſiſtance of any Hiſtorian, without procuring a kind Reception for his Work.*

The fortunate Miniſters have not alone recommended ſuch as have ſaved their Honours from Oblivion; the Publick hath paid the ſame Regard to thoſe who generouſly ſtrew'd Flowers on the Monuments of the unhappy. The Memoirs we ſtill have of the luckleſs Antonio Perez *are read with Pity for him, who is their Subject; and this Pity begets a Kindneſs for the Man, who, without reſpect to Pomp and Fortune, undertook the Care of collecting for Poſterity the Tale of a Stateſman's Misfortunes, who was once a Favourite, tho' he died an Exile. All the Pieces that relate to the unfortunate Earl of* Straford, *who, like a* ſetting Sun, *ſunk with ſuch a Blaze of Glory, as the Eyes of*

his Enemies were not able to endure, are at this Diſtance of Time carefully preſerved, and as carefully read. The Cant of thoſe who preached this Engliſh Demoſthenes *to the* Scaffold, *where his* Royal Maſter *followed him, makes no Impreſſion on a more diſcerning Age. The Generality of the World now honour him, and thoſe that have done him Honour. The Writers who have reſcued the Character of the* Grand Penſionary De Witt, *from thoſe who tore his Body to pieces, have received the Thanks of all Men of Honour and Humanity, and even of the Children of thoſe who rejoiced in that great Man's Death. For popular Fury, tho' it does ſtrange things for a moment, yet its Force quickly wears off, and like the ebbing of the Sea, after a high Storm, reſtores to the Eye the Ruins of whatever it deſtroy'd; which, if excellent in themſelves, are viewed with the greater Veneration, on account of their ill Fate.*

The

The Author of the following Sheets hath not however either Merit to plead. The Perſon whoſe Memoirs he furniſhes was great indeed, but not ſucceſsful; and tho' unhappy, very unhappy, yet ſtill leſs ſo than he deſerved. He therefore can rely only on the Love of Truth, and the Deſire of ſupporting it for Protection; and he hopes, that with the preſent Age, this will ſufficiently recommend his Deſign. As to the manner in which he has executed it, the Reader will judge of it. All he preſumes to ſay for himſelf is, that Flattery or Prejudice had no ſhare therein. To this he begs leave to add, that there are certain Circumſtances attending the Story of the Duke de Ripperda's *Life, which render it extremely worthy of Notice; and having inſiſted a little on theſe, he will contentedly leave his Book to its Fate.*

The general Concerns of Europe *have for many Years been influenced by the famous*

famous Treaty of Vienna, *which was negotiated by the Baron* de Ripperda, *and the Negotiation of which made him Duke, Grandee, and Prime Miniſter of* Spain. *This alone ſhould ſeem ſufficient to raiſe the Curioſity of the Publick, which was ſo ſtrongly awaken'd by the Schemes of* Baron Gortz *and* Cardinal Alberoni; *tho' they had not greater, or more fatal Effects. An Event, which changes the whole Syſtem of Politicks, can never be thoroughly underſtood, without a proper Acquaintance with the Characters of thoſe by whom it is brought about. This the World ſeems to underſtand perfectly well, on this it appears to ground its Judgments, and therefore the Author of the Memoirs of M.* de Ripperda *thought, they would be an acceptable Preſent.*

But with reſpect to the Britiſh *Nation, there are ſome Reaſons which intereſt us in a very particular manner, in the Hiſtory of this Duke. We were told, by a celebrated, and ſome ſay, a Right Reverend Author, that the Table-talk of this Miniſter was the true Baſis*

whereon

whereon the Treaty of Hanover *was built; and that in consequence of his Discourses, Admiral* Hosier *was sent to the* Bastimento's, *and Sir* John Jennings *to the* Mediterranean. *The Consequences of these Armaments have been since made the Topick of long and loud Disputes, which seem at present as far from being adjusted as ever; and therefore an Account of their Author cannot but be suitable to the general Taste. Besides, his Person was extremely well known in this Country, and at this Court. It was here the Duke* de Ripperda *fram'd, and would have carried into execution, his vindictive Schemes, for humbling the* Spanish *Monarchy; and it ought always to be mentioned to the Honour of his present Majesty, that he had more Justice and Generosity, than to countenance such sanguine Schemes, or to think of returning that ill Usage, which his Subjects had met with. It was here he formed his romantic Design of retiring to* Barbary, *and of presenting to the Emperor of* Fez *and* Morocco

Projects

Projects ſtill more cruel and fatal, than any he had already formed. After ſuch Acquaintance with the Man, and with his Views, we cannot ſure but be well pleaſed to hear what became of him and them.

To what has been already ſaid, we may join the natural Advantages of theſe Memoirs, which contain as curious, as entertaining, and as inſtructive Particulars, as any this Age hath produc'd. In them, we ſee a Man diſtinguiſhed by Birth, endow'd with great Parts by Nature, liberally educated, introduc'd happily into the World, and riſing after he was ſo introduced by Dint of his own Merit; I ſay, ſuch a Perſon we ſee rejecting a Religion, which was not the Effect of his Nurſe's Dictates, but of his own mature Choice; abandoning that Country which had honour'd him with great Employments, and doing all this for the ſake of making court to Arbitrary Power, and from the bare Hopes of obtaining a ſhare therein. The

ſame

ſame Man, we ſee thrown from all theſe glittering Expectations, and retiring with all the Firmneſs of a Philoſopher, repoſing himſelf in the pleaſing Solitude of a Country Life, and behaving as if his Ambition had been loſt with his Fortune. Suddenly we behold him returning again to Courts, ſolliciting and receiving Favours, if Trouble and Fatigue deſerve that Name; and riſing, by a quick Succeſſion of Dignities, to that lofty Seat, which could alone gratify his Luſt of Dominion. There, when we look up to him, we no longer diſcern thoſe good Qualities, which hitherto, by their Luſtre, hindered us from hating his Vices. We perceive him haughty, inſolent, and capricious, ſpurning the Nation which had lifted him to ſuch a height, and loſing the Reverence due to thoſe who had led him to this envy'd Greatneſs. From thence we ſee him falling like a Meteor, purſued by the mercileſs Rage of a diſtracted People, hurried to a Priſon, and forgotten there by his Friends, his Wife, and even Juſtice herſelf.

herſelf. Eſcaping by the aid of a love-ſick Woman, flying with the Dart of Revenge ſticking in his Heart, to England, Holland, Barbary ; *there forgetting his Honour as a Gentleman, and his Faith as a Chriſtian, ſubmitting to be circumcized, and riſing once more at the Expence of his Religion. Again imperious, again inſolent, again hated, degraded again, and reduc'd to the State of a private Man ; his Head ſecured by his Arts, his Safety obtain'd at the Expence of his Loyalty ; Indolence ſucceeding to Ambition ; of a Stateſman he becomes a Debauchée. Then by the gradual Approaches of Death awaken'd from this Inſenſibility, we ſee him become again a Gentleman, a Man of Honour, and a Chriſtian ; condemning his Errors, lamenting his Wickedneſs, and leaving the Example of his Misfortunes, as the beſt Legacy to his Children.*

Sure ! there is Variety enough in this ! and in the preſent Age, Variety alone

alone is frequently a ſufficient Recommendation. But here there is Verity alſo. The following Sheets contain nothing that is not to the beſt of the Author's knowledge ſtrictly true; nor is the Truth ever heightned or exaggerated for the ſake of moving the Paſſions, or pleaſing the Imagination. The End aimed at was, to repreſent things as they really are, and to leave the reſt to the Reader's Judgment, which is patiently expected.

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Tam patiens Urbis, tam Ferreus, ut teneat ſe? Sat. 1.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Duke de RIPPERDA.

THE Miſchiefs naturally attending an obſtinate War, which had for a long time waſted *Europe*, inclined all the Nations who were engaged therein, to wiſh nothing ſo much as the return of Peace; the Conquerors and the Conquered had ſuffered ſo deeply, that they were both heartily tired, and equally diſpoſed to let fall all Diſputes: when the Baron *de Ripperda*, a Gentleman of the Province of *Groningen* and the *Omelands*, was ſent in the quality of Deputy from thence to the *States General*, having a few days before publickly abjured the Roman Catholick Religion, in order to embrace the Reformed.

He was, to ſpeak impartially, a Man of Genius and of profound Penetration, extremely zealous in appearance for his Country, an excellent Friend, affable, liberal, but not over-tenacious of his Word. Faithleſs, tho' no Coward; in Politicks more knowing than ſincere; in Ambition boundleſs. But for this, *Spain* had 'till now conſerved to him that Regard and thoſe Dignities which were once thought due to his Merit.

As he was known through all the United Provinces, the News of the Change he thought fit to make in

his Religion, and the Dignity which had accrued to him from that Change, made a mighty noiſe. His Friends of the Proteſtant Religion, who had always look'd upon him as an obſtinate Papiſt, were equally ſurprized and pleaſed; while the Catholicks hung down their heads, and contented themſelves with ſaying, that he was among the Number of thoſe impious Perſons, who with a View to temporal Rewards, abandon thoſe Religious Principles, of the Truth of which they remain convinced in their Hearts. They did not fail however to excommunicate him, of which he took little notice, ſupporting all the Effects of their Reſentment with that Calmneſs and Indifference, which, in reſpect to ſuch things, he maintained in all the ſubſequent extraordinary Tranſactions of his Life.

From the Time the *Baron de Ripperda* entred on the Functions of his Office he was admired by every body, and the Reſpect of his Collegues came nothing ſhort of that Applauſe, which was beſtowed upon him by the leſs knowing part of the World. The Foreign Miniſters were charmed with his Converſation, the Marquis *de Chateauneuf* his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Ambaſſador, was particularly taken with his obliging Behaviour; and notwithſtanding the Change he had made in his Religious Principles, honoured him with his Eſteem. The *Baron*, on the other hand, neglected nothing on his part, neceſſary to teſtify a profound Senſe of the Favour the *Marquis* conferr'd upon him. He was yet more aſſiduous to cultivate thoſe happy Opportunities which Providence ſeem'd to throw in his way, by bringing him into the Management of publick Affairs while the Congreſs at *Utrecht* ſubſiſted, where he had an Opportunity of ſeeing the moſt accompliſh'd Miniſters of the ſeveral Princes of *Europe*, of obſerving their ſeveral Talents, and in fine of forming himſelf on ſuch excellent Models

for

for the Exercise of a like Office in a Foreign Country, and even for supporting alone the Weight of publick Affairs in a great and powerful Nation, as he afterwards did, not without Reputation, as the bittereſt of his Enemies have confeſs'd.

The *States-General* finding it convenient to ſend a Miniſter on their part to the Court of *Madrid*, quickly caſt their Eyes on the *Baron de Ripperda*, as a Perſon whom they had long thought equal to any Employment of that kind, to which they were led by the happy Succeſs of thoſe Negotiations in which in quality of Deputy to the States he had been employed at home. The Baron received with a decent Chearfulneſs, an Honour to which he had long aſpired, and having his Letters of Credence from his Maſters the States once in his hands, he took a quick leave of his Friends in order to ſet out for *Spain*. He quitted *Holland* in the Month of *May* 1715, and arrived at *Madrid* on the 6*th* of *July* following.

He was received by his Catholick Majeſty with all poſſible Marks of Honour, which the ſituation of Affairs made neceſſary, and the Baron's eaſy and reſpectful Behaviour very agreeable to that Prince. The *Spaniſh* Miniſters came by degrees to have a high Eſteem for him; conſidering him as a very able Man, and admiring early thoſe Talents with which they were afterwards leſs pleaſed. It is generally thought that our Politician projected very early that Turn he afterwards made, tho' nothing of this appear'd in his Conduct, which was ſuch as eſtabliſh'd the Reputation he had acquired at home and abroad. He foreſaw that to attain the mighty Things which he had already ſwallowed in Imagination, it was requiſite to behave towards the *Spaniards* in ſuch a manner as to give them very high Ideas of his Capacity, and to manage the Affairs of his Maſters with ſuch Addreſs, as that they might have

no occaſion to repent of the Confidence they had repoſed in him. He ſucceeded in both his Deſigns; nothing was heard at *Madrid* but the Praiſes of the *Dutch* Miniſter, and nothing was more generally acknowledged at the *Hague*, than the Merit of *Ripperda*; inſomuch, that the States-General ſent him Orders to take upon him the Quality of *Ambaſſador*, which he accordingly did in the Month of *November* 1715, and thenceforward neglected no Opportunity of confirming the Friendſhips he had made, or of contracting ſuch new ones as he thought might prove uſeful.

Cardinal del Giudice was at this time *Prime Miniſter*, of whom it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething, in order to render the ſubſequent Part of our Memoirs more eaſy and perſpicuous. His Eminence was the Son of the *Prince* de *Cellamere*, and Duke *de Giovenazzo*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. He was born in the Year 1647, and deſtined by his Father to the Prieſthood. In the Year 1690, he was created Cardinal Deacon by *Pope Alexander* VIII. In the Year 1696, he was charged with the Affairs of *Spain*, at the Court of *Rome*, by King *Charles* II. In the Year 1699, he was declared Protector of *Sicily*, and ſhortly after one of the Members of the Grand Council of State formed by the Prince beforementioned. In this Situation *Philip* V. found him on his Acceſſion to the Throne of *Spain*, and in the Cloſe of the Year 1701, he named him Viceroy *pro interim* of the Iſland of *Sicily*, beſtowing on him ſoon afterwards the rich Archbiſhoprick of *Monreal*. In the Year 1709, he retired at the Command of the King from *Rome*, on the Pope's acknowledging his Competitor King *Charles* III. In 1710, he was named Inquiſitor-General of *Spain*. In 1712, he came to *Madrid*, where he acted as Chief Miniſter and Confident for ſome time. He then accompanied his Nephew the Prince of *Cellamere*,

mere, in his Embaſſy to *France*, where he was not very fortunate. He incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of *Lewis* XIV, by cauſing a *Placard* to be poſted up at *Verſailles*, condemning a certain Book, written in *Spain*, in right of his being Inquiſitor-General. He had likewiſe the Misfortune to loſe the Favour of his Sovereign, on account of his Intrigues with the *Princeſs des Urſins*. Things at laſt ran ſo high, that he received an Order to reſign the Poſt of Inquiſitor-General, which he did immediately. In 1714, he was recalled; and in the beginning of the next Year, having obtained leave to wait on their Majeſties at *Buen Retiro*, he found means to excuſe himſelf ſo well, that he was received into higher Favour than ever; and in a ſhort time not only reinſtated in his Poſt of Inquiſitor-General, but the Office of Governour of the Prince of *Aſturias* was added thereto, and he was likewiſe declared *Prime Miniſter*.

In this Situation the *Baron de Ripperda* found him, and began to negotiate with him on the Affairs for which he was ſent to *Spain*. The Cardinal quickly ſaw how able and how artful a Man he had to deal with; and as he was himſelf a Man of much Addreſs, and of almoſt inconceivable Cunning, he eaſily comprehended of how great Importance it would be, if, by any means, he could bring him into his Intereſt. With this View, he not only careſſed him on all occaſions, and did him ſuch Favours in the Courſe of his Miniſtry, as might induce the Baron to have a great Complacence for him; but he alſo proceeded ſo far, as to tempt him by very conſiderable Offers, to forget that Reſpect which was due to his Country, and that Fidelity which became a Perſon veſted with ſo high a Character. The penetrating *Ripperda* ſaw perfectly into his Intentions, but did not think fit to comply with them; either becauſe he judged his own Af-

fairs were not yet in ſuch a State, as would make ſuch an extraordinary Revolution feaſible, or that he had ſome Apprehenſion of that Miniſter's Ruin, which happened not long after.

The *Cardinal del Giudice* was of the number of thoſe Stateſmen who have not courage enough to offer their Maſters good Counſels, or ſufficient Reſolution to juſtify the Counſels they give. On the contrary, he was always puſhing the King upon violent Meaſures, and at the ſame time he inſinuated to the People, "That it was with the utmoſt "Concern he ſaw himſelf obliged to execute ſuch "harſh Orders, which render'd him infinitely more "miſerable than thoſe who ſuffered by them, ſince "he was at once the Object of their Majeſties Ha-"tred for the Oppoſition he made to their Com-"mands, and of the Ill-will of the People, on "account of the Obedience he was forced to pay "them." His Conduct had been long ſuſpected, and his *Catholick Majeſty* had more than once received Intimation of his Unfaithfulneſs; but the Miniſter knew how to work upon the King's Temper, eſpecially while he preſerved an Aſcendancy over the Queen, which he did for ſome time, and doubtleſs would have done ſo much longer, if his Succeſſor in the Miniſtry, *Alberoni*, had not given ſuch clear Lights into his Behaviour, as left their Majeſties no poſſibility of doubting of the Unworthineſs of their Favourite.

One of the moſt conſiderable things which the Cardinal *del Giudice* performed in the latter part of his Miniſtry, was the procuring the Converſion of the *Baron de Ripperda*, or rather confirming him in his Deſign of returning to the Profeſſion of the *Roman* Catholick Faith. This he effected eſpecially by the means of an *Italian* Jeſuit, who had been Confeſſor to the *Chevalier de St. George*, and whom he had ſent for into *Spain*, with a View to the

the obtaining for him the ſame Poſt about the Perſon of his *Catholick Majeſty*; but in this he was diſappointed through the Activity and Vigilance of *Father Molinos* a *Spaniard*, of the ſame Order. However, the *Italian* Father having had frequent Conferences with the Baron *de Ripperda*, fixed him at laſt to the Reſolution of returning to *Spain*, and declaring himſelf a *Catholick*, after the Affairs of his Miniſtry were finiſhed, and he had acquitted himſelf to his Maſters the *States-General*, of the Truſt repoſed in him. But neither the *Jeſuit*, nor the *Cardinal* could prevail on him to move any quicker, or to enter into any ſtricter Meaſures with the Miniſter than was conſiſtent with his own Reputation and Safety; in which, without queſtion, the *Baron* gave a ſtrong Proof of his Sagacity, ſince if he had taken other Meaſures, they might, in all probability, have proved fatal to him, as they never could have been advantageous.

The Conduct of the Baron *de Ripperda* towards the foreign Miniſters was ſuch, that notwithſtanding many Reaſons which rendered them at firſt very cautious, they became at laſt perfectly ſatisfied with him, as well in his Miniſterial Capacity, as in the ordinary Courſe of his Converſation. The *Engliſh* Miniſter particularly lived in great Intimacy with him; the rather, becauſe he had no Taſte for thoſe Diverſions which are eſteemed the peculiar Pleaſures of the Great; and in which, tho' the Baron *de Ripperda* ſhone as much as any Man, yet he took as little delight in them as he. The Grandees of the *Spaniſh* Court behaved towards him with all imaginable Marks of Eſteem, on account of that reſpectful Treatment which the Baron always received from their Catholick Majeſties, whenever he went to pay his Court to them, as other publick Miniſters did. But in the midſt of theſe Pleaſures our Stateſman was not a little embaraſſed by a domeſtick Diſcontent. His Chaplain, an honeſt *Dutch*

Miniſter, could not ſee with patience the Jeſuits daily reſorting to his Maſter's Houſe, and receiving from him all poſſible Demonſtrations of the ſtricteſt Confidence. The Good Man told him frankly his Sentiments, as a Proteſtant Divine, and a Subject of the States-General. He alledg'd, that theſe frequent Conferences would neceſſarily raiſe great Suſpicions in the World on the head of his Excellency's Religion, and might poſſibly beget ſome Doubts and Jealouſies, even in the Breaſts of his beſt Friends, at the ſame time that they could not be of any uſe to himſelf; ſince while he continued a Proteſtant, their Diſcourſes could ſerve only to make him uneaſy, and to fill his Mind with Scruples. That with reſpect to any political Uſe, which might be made of theſe Reverend Fathers, he was confident, that it never could ſucceed. For that however ready they might be in their Promiſes, and whatever Intereſt they might have in the Court of *Spain*, yet he was confident, that they would neither fulfil thoſe Promiſes, nor make uſe of that Intereſt to ſerve him, but would act in ſuch a manner as to ſerve themſelves in all things at his Expence, which would be little to his Reputation as a publick Miniſter. The Baron *de Ripperda* ſeem'd to liſten to theſe Diſcourſes, not only without Pain, and without Diſlike, but with all outward Appearance, of Gratitude and Kindneſs for him who made them. He took a great deal of pains to excuſe his Behaviour on this head, and promiſed from time to time that he would take an Opportunity of forbidding thoſe Fathers his Houſe; whereas in truth he meant nothing of all this, being only at pains to keep up an exteriour Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, when there was a Neceſſity of ſpeaking of it; and as to Politicks, he knew very well that nothing could be ſuggeſted to his prejudice to his Maſters the States-General, ſince he had perfectly ſucceeded in the Affairs wherewith he was charg'd,

charg'd, and had obtain'd ſuch advantageous Conditions, as in all probability would not have been obtained by any other Miniſter leſs in favour with their Majeſties and their Miniſter than he was.

In the midſt of this Career of Succeſs, the *Cardinal del Giudice* ſuddenly demanded leave to lay down his Imployments, that he might be at liberty to retire to *Rome*, purſuant to the reiterated Commands of his Holineſs. He obtained his Requeſt without much difficulty, and the Baron *de Ripperda* ſaw with regret him without Power, in whoſe Favour he ſtood higheſt. We have already hinted at the Cauſes of his Diſgrace; but as there is always ſomething entertaining in the Story of a Miniſter's Fall, it may not be amiſs to enter a little more particularly into that of the Cardinal del *Giudice*.

We have heretofore mentioned the Princeſs of *Urſins*, the great Favourite of *Mary Louiſa* of *Savoy*, King *Philip* the Vth's firſt Queen. After the Deceaſe of that Princeſs, ſhe gain'd ſuch an Aſcendancy over the King, as to govern all things at her pleaſure; and it was to her that the Cardinal *del Giudice* owed that great Share of Confidence which the King allowed him. On his *Catholick Majeſty*'s Marriage with the *Princeſs of Parma*, the *Abbot Alberoni*, who had negotiated the Match, and had the Queen's Ear in every thing, adviſed her, by Letter, to demand of King *Philip* the Diſmiſſion of the *Princeſs* of *Urſins* before her Majeſty entered *Spain*. The *Abbot Alberoni*, who reſided at *Madrid*, with the Character of *Envoy* from the Duke of *Parma*, obſerving how much the King was embaraſſed by this Demand, took upon him to ſhew the expediency of it. He ſpoke on this Occaſion very tenderly of the *Princeſs* of *Urſins*, acknowledged all her great Qualities, and magnified all the Services ſhe had rendered to the King. He then obſerved, that his Majeſty as a juſt and grateful Prince, had honour'd the Princeſs with a multitude of

Favours,

Favours, which rendered it altogether improper for her to appear at Court, when his Majeſty ſhould receive another Queen, who thereby became the Miſtreſs of her who had been ſo lately the Miſtreſs of all things. Perceiving that the King reliſhed this Diſcourſe, he propoſed it as an Expedient, which would entirely free the King from any Trouble, that he ſhould by Letter acquaint the Queen with his having granted her firſt Requeſt, and at the ſame time leave it to her to execute it as ſhe thought beſt. In this the King readily acquieſced, becauſe nothing diſturbed him ſo much as the Apprehenſion of forbidding the *Princeſs* of *Urſins* his Preſence. On the other hand, the Abbot *Alberoni* being upon good Terms with that Lady, perſuaded her to aſk the King's Leave to accompany the Marquis *los Balbaſes*, who went to receive the new Queen on the Frontiers of *France*. King *Philip* readily granted this Requeſt, and the Princeſs ſetting out immediately from *Madrid*, met the Queen upon the Frontiers of *Caſtile*. As ſoon as ſhe entered the Antichamber, the Queen bid her retire, and a moment after ſent an Order to the Colonel of the Guards to conduct her into *France*, with a Prohibition of ever thinking of returning again into *Spain*. That haughty Princeſs refuſed to obey the Queen's Command, till the Colonel told her he had an Order from the King in writing, directing him to execute preciſely ſuch Orders as he ſhould receive from her Majeſty. The *Princeſs of Urſins* then ſaw, that the Abbot *Alberoni* had ſacrificed her to the *Manes* of his Maſter the Duke *de Vendome*, whom ſhe conſtantly thwarted, and who once told King *Philip*, *That it was a ſhame his Councils ſhould be directed in thoſe things by a Woman, which it was unfit for any Woman to know.* From this time forward, the Cardinal *del Giudice*'s Intereſt began to decline, tho' *Alberoni* would never meddle in Affairs. He had acceſs to the Queen

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as the Envoy of *Parma*, the Advices he gave her were received as Oracles; but when ſhe repeated them to the King, they came as from herſelf. It was owing to his Counſels, that the Queen ſent back every *Italian* Lady who attended her, that ſhe diſcountenanced Foreigners, and openly adviſed his Majeſty to depend wholly upon the *Spaniſh* Grandees. The Cardinal *del Giudice* would very willingly have been taken for the Author of theſe Advices; but the *Spaniſh* Nobility were not ſo to be deceived, they knew very well that he was the Patron of all the *Italians* about the Court, and they ſaid plainly, that no Stranger ever did the *Spaniards* good but *Alberoni*. Him therefore they aſſiſted to open the King's Eyes, with reſpect to the double Dealing of his Miniſter, who had been long playing a back Game, and taking care of the Concerns of his Family at the expence of his Maſter. The Honourable Mr. *D.* was then at *Madrid*, charg'd with the Affairs of *Great Britain*; a Man equal in all reſpects to the Character he ſuſtain'd. He made a proper uſe of *Alberoni*, that is, he made him ſerve the *Engliſh Nation* more than he was aware of, and obtained by his means all he wanted; while the *Italian* was glad to go any lengths that might enable him to gratify his own Ambition. The Addreſs of Mr. *D.* was ſo well underſtood, that amongſt the *Politicians*, *Alberoni* was afterwards called his *Cardinal*. In the beginning therefore of the Year 1716, their Majeſties began to ſhew ſome Coldneſs towards *del Giudice*. In the Month of *July*, they took from him the Office of Governour to the Prince of *Aſturias*, on pretence that it was incompatible with the Affairs of his Miniſtry. He was ſhortly after given to underſtand, that the King expected he ſhould reſign his Poſt of *Inquiſitor-General* to *Father Molinos*; and in leſs than a Month he ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of laying down thoſe Imployments which he could not keep, as

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alſo of quitting *Spain*, where thoſe, who had always hated him, took now the liberty of reviling him. The laſt Act of his Miniſtry, was the recommending the *Baron de Ripperda* to the King and Queen, as a Man of uſeful Talents, and one on whom they might ſafely depend; which, if it did him no other Service, obliged the Abbot *Alberoni* to take much notice of him as ſoon as he was fixt in his Adminiſtration.

It would be too great a Digreſſion to attempt in this place a Draft of the State of Affairs in *Europe* at that time; let it ſuffice then to ſay, that *Julius Alberoni* having received the Purple from Pope *Clement* XI. at the Recommendation of the Queen of *Spain*, was ſoon after created a Grandee of that Kingdom by his Catholick Majeſty, and veſted with the Title and Office of Prime Miniſter. From this time forward, no Man courted him more than the *Baron de Ripperda*, and no Man was better received in appearance than he. Yet it was impoſſible for the Baron not to perceive, that in the midſt of all theſe outward Teſtimonies of Eſteem, the Cardinal-Miniſter was far from relying upon him, or treating him with that Openneſs which his Predeceſſor had done, which gave him no little Concern. On the other hand, the Cardinal, who was well enough acquainted with the Secret of the Baron's Converſion, and of his Deſign to abandon the Service of the *States*, to enter into that of his Catholick Majeſty, did not however care to truſt him, till he had ſome farther Marks of his Fidelity. For his Eminency made it a Rule with him, to raiſe none but his own Creatures, and never to admit any Man into their number, without being convinced, that he would without heſitation do whatever he deſir'd, or rather what he commanded. All the Baron *de Ripperda*'s Addreſs, all the Compliments that from time to time he paid him, wrought little upon the Cardinal, who waited an Opportunity

Opportunity of trying the Sincerity of his Proteſtations, and of diſcerning whether he was for his Turn or not.

While things were in the State we have deſcribed, the Baron paſſed with the world for one of the Confidents of the Cardinal-Miniſter; and one Evening at the Houſe of one of the Queen's Ladies of Honour, who fell ſhortly after into Diſgrace, the Converſation turned upon this Subject, even while the Baron was preſent. If I, ſaid a certain Perſon, were under the Neceſſity of applying to one who might procure for me the Favour of the Miniſter, I ſhould certainly addreſs my ſelf to his Excellency here, the Ambaſſador from *Holland*. Convinced as I am of his profound regard for his Excellency, I ſhould rely ſolely on his Mediation, and never diſquiet my ſelf a moment about its Succeſs. It is certain, anſwered the Baron *de Ripperda*, that no Man eſteems more than I do the great Abilities of his Eminency; I know very well, that ſcarce any Miniſter ever had greater, and that thoſe who ſpeak of them with Indifference, either are not capable of judging of them, or hate them becauſe he is poſſeſſed of them. But after all, the Viſits I pay the Cardinal are ſolely on account of the Affairs with which I am charged, and when our Diſcourſe does not roll upon them, it turns altogether on Subjects which are quite indifferent. For my part, ſaid another Gentleman, tho' I muſt own, that it is always honourable for a publick Miniſter to keep up a proper Degree of Intimacy with the Perſon entruſted with the Management of Affairs at that Court where he reſides; yet I aſſure you, I would by no means make it my ſtudy to ingratiate my ſelf with a Man of the Prime Miniſter's Temper. He is one who makes Promiſes with a Facility equal to the difficulty which is found in making him keep them. Moſt of the Great Men about the Court know this by Experience. Nay, where there is the

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ſtrongeſt Reaſon to hope ſomewhat from his Promiſes, that is, where a Man is capable of doing him Service, where there is neither Punctuality, Induſtry, or Capacity wanting, yet are there all things to be feared from the ſlighteſt Check given to his Temper, or rather Humour, which is delicate to ſuch a degree, that there is hardly a Poſſibility of not offending it. The ſmalleſt Act of Forgetfulneſs, the ſlighteſt Indifference, tho' it happens caſually, effaces a Man from his Memory, and makes him indifferent towards him for ever; the ſofteſt, the genteeleſt Raillery wounds him to the quick, and tho' it may fall on the ſlighteſt Part of his Character, yet will he revenge it, when you leaſt think of it in your moſt important Affairs. I do admit that there is no Man living underſtands better than he, how to value, to improve, or to reward Mens Abilities, if they are ſuch as he likes; but then there never exiſted a Miniſter more capable of diſcerning, or of expoſing a Man's Foibles, if he likes him not. On this account it is, that I dread his Humour. But for God's ſake, reply'd the Gentleman who ſpake firſt, where ſhall we find a Man without Faults? There is nothing eaſier than to ſecure one's ſelf; from the Cardinal's Reſentment, to be ſure of him one need only be ſure of one's ſelf; and if you would once reliſh this Doctrine, I perſuade my ſelf you would quickly find your account in it. For my own part, I acknowledge that I have the Honour to be well with the Miniſter; and if you will believe me, I find nothing eaſier than to preſerve his good Graces. Say you ſo? returned the *Baron de Ripperda* briſkly; If you are of the number of the Cardinal's Friends, allow me the Honour of reckoning you amongſt the moſt intimate of mine.

When they retired from this Converſation, the *Baron de Ripperda* deſired the Favour of his new Friend to go home and ſup with him, which the other

other very readily accepted. He was a Man well known to, and well received by the Cardinal; but, like many others, injoy'd nothing in conſequence of this Favour, except the Hopes of being provided for ſome time or other. It was no wonder therefore that he ſo joyfully embraced the acquaintance of the *Baron de Ripperda*, whom he juſtly looked upon as a Man very capable of fixing his Fortune with the Cardinal. The Baron, on the other hand, ran into high Panegyrics on the Miniſter, and after having ſolemnly proteſted that he was entirely devoted to the Cardinal, he gave the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances to his Friend, that if he could introduce him to the Confidence of his Eminency, he ſhould quickly find his account therein.

The Converſation was interrupted much ſooner than either Party deſired, by the coming in of the *Britiſh* Envoy, who made this Viſit to inform the Baron *de Ripperda* that himſelf was recalled, and that he apprehended he would not ſtay long after him. The Baron concurred with him in Opinion, knowing as well as any Man the Situation of Affairs, and the Reaſons of that Coldneſs which had been ſhewn of late by the *Spaniſh* Court towards their *High Mightineſſes* his Maſters. The true Source of which was this: The Cardinal-Miniſter, who did all things, had demanded of the States, in the Name of the King his Maſter, leave either to build, or to buy Ships ready-built in their Ports which Demand was not thought either juſt or reaſonable. The *Dutch* ſaw clearly, that the Increaſe of the maritime Power of *Spain* would be dangerous to themſelves, as well as to the reſt of *Europe*, and therefore they would by no means conſent to his Project, which the Cardinal looked on as the ſureſt, ſafeſt, and ſhorteſt Method of effecting it. The Baron *de Ripperda* was charged by his Maſters with the Care of repreſenting to their Catholick Majeſties the Reaſons on which their Re-

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fuſal was grounded. Theſe, however tenderly expreſſed, were but indifferently received, and the Court of *Spain* gave evident Teſtimonies of her Diſlike to the Conduct of the States, tho' their Miniſter the Baron *de Ripperda*, was ſtill as well received by their Majeſties and the Cardinal as ever.

About the End of the Month of *November* 1716, M. de *Ripperda* was actually recalled. This gave him the greateſt Pleaſure, becauſe there was nothing he ſo much deſired as an Opportunity of returning to ſettle his Affairs in *Holland*, that he might be at liberty to put in execution his favourite Deſign of devoting himſelf to the Service of their Catholick Majeſties, after laying down the Burthen of the *Dutch* Affairs, and being perfectly diſcharged from thoſe Negotiations, which, on the part of the *States*, he had carried on. He had behaved ſo cautiouſly at *Madrid*, that no body there had the leaſt Suſpicion of his Intentions. Every body knew, that he was well received by the King, the Queen, and the Cardinal; but this was attributed to his great Abilities, and to that extraordinary Politeneſs, which diſtinguiſhed him even amongſt the moſt polite Men in *Europe*. He took leave of his Friends with ſuch Grief in his Countenance, and with ſuch Expreſſions of Sorrow and Concern, as rendered it a thing paſt doubt, that he never thought of appearing in *Spain* again, but took his laſt farewel of the Acquaintances he had made there.

Such was the Situation of things, and ſuch the Employments of the *Baron*, when, of a ſudden, a Report began to riſe that the M. *de Ripperda* would not leave *Spain* at all; but that quitting his Character as a *Dutch* Miniſter, he would abjure the Proteſtant Religion, and enter inſtantly into the Service of the Catholick King. Whence this Report came, could not be diſcovered; however, it ſpread ſo generally, that it reached the Ears of the King, the

the Queen, and the Jeſuits; who, though they knew well enough, that it was not without foundation, yet ſmiled at it as a Story groundleſs, and which deſerved no Credit. The Friends of the Baron *de Ripperda* were however not a little alarmed; they were jealous of his Reputation, and extremely deſirous that he ſhould effectually clear up Matters, ſo as to leave no Doubts on the Minds of Men with Reſpect to his Conduct. With this View they reſolved to make him a Viſit, to acquaint him with what was reported, and to demand of him ſuch an Explanation as might deſtroy that Report. But when they came to the Baron's Houſe, and found every thing there diſpoſed for his immediate Departure, himſelf aſſiduouſly imployed in ſuch Preparations, and his Equipage almoſt ready to ſet out, they were ſo thoroughly convinced that what they had heard was an idle and groundleſs Calumny, that they thought it unneceſſary to trouble the Baron with a Repetition of it; nor were their Suſpicions revived, when they underſtood that he left his Wife and all his Family behind him: ſo that the Baron left *Madrid* without knowing that the Publick had ſurmiſed any thing as to his ſecret Scheme.

On his Return to the *Hague*, he gave an Account to the States-General of his Negotiations; and as ſoon as he had got once free from publick Affairs, he applied himſelf with great Vigour to the ſettling his private Concerns. This Country appeared to him in the light of a frightful Deſart, from which he longed to eſcape to the Paradiſe he figured to himſelf in *Spain*. His leaving Madam *de Ripperda* behind him, and his never mentioning any Deſign of bringing her home, alarmed his Friends exceedingly, who were in the higheſt Joy at his firſt Arrival, and would willingly have believed, that he came back as good a Proteſtant from *Spain* as he went thither. They were not however quite ſo

tender as his Acquaintance at *Madrid*; for after having given him many Hints of the Stories they had heard, which the Baron always treated as things he did not at all underſtand, and which at firſt they took for Art; but when they had thoroughly examined not only his Words, but his Looks and Geſtures, they began really to think, that he dealt plainly with them, and that therefore it was their Duty to deal plainly with him. With this View, they told him in few words what was reported of him, and the News which was altogether unexpected, ſtruck the Baron into ſuch a Reverie, that for many minutes a Word could not be got out of his mouth. In this time he ran over in his Mind all the Circumſtances attending the Conferences he had ever had on the Subject, and finding no Ground to believe that any really could tranſpire of what had paſt, he reſolved roundly to deny it, which he did with all the Vehemence poſſible, when once he had recovered his Spirits. It is unneceſſary to repeat what had paſſed in this Converſation, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that a Man of Wit, who made one of the Company, perceiving how uneaſy the Baron was, adroitly turned the Diſcourſe on the State of the Court of *Spain*, the Favour and Exile of the *Princeſs* of *Urſins*, the Fall of the Cardinal del *Giudice*, and the Riſe of the famous *Alberoni*. This gave ſome Relief to the Baron, whom ſo unlook'd for a Diſcourſe had quite diſconcerted; but he was unable to recover his wonted Good-humour, and therefore enjoy'd very little Satisfaction till the Company broke up, and left him at liberty to employ his Thoughts in endeavouring to trace out the Path by which his Secret had eſcaped to publick Notice.

While he was tormenting himſelf with ſuch excruciating Cogitations, a Servant brought him a Packet from Don *Antonio Alvaro de Mendoza*, an inti-

intimate Friend of his in *Spain*, whom he charged to write him all that paſt after his Departure, and who was acquainted with all his Secrets, ſave that of his Converſion. This *Don Alvaro* was a Clergyman, who had fallen into Diſgrace with their *Catholick Majeſties*, on account of ſome unguarded Expreſſions he had let fall againſt the Cardinal *del Giudice*, while he was in the Zenith of his Favour. He was however reſtored in the Opinion of their Majeſties by the Interpoſition of the Baron, who had alſo procured a Command in the Army for his Brother the Marquis de *Villagarcia*. The Purport of Don *Alvaro*'s Letter was, that he heard with extreme Pleaſure a Report, tho' grounded only on Suſpicions, that he intended to forſake the damnable Hereſy of *Calvin*, and return into the Boſom of the Church. As ſoon as the Baron diſcovered that Suſpicion only grounded on his Intimacy with the Jeſuits had given riſe to this Story, he preſently recovered his former Tranquility, and determined by a firm and well-regulated Hypocriſy, to put Truth itſelf out of countenance if he could. A hardy Reſolution, which, to his coſt, he found afterwards more eaſily taken, than carried into execution.

That Steadineſs with which he perſiſted in treating the Report of his abjuring his Religion as a Fable, and all the Arts he made uſe of to propagate an Opinion of his returning to *Spain* meerly on political Views, had no manner of Effect; on the contrary, thoſe to whom he ſpoke grew warm in their Infidelity, in proportion to the heat he diſcover'd in his Defence, till at length the Baron tired out with unſucceſsful Hypocriſy, thought proper to decline ſpeaking rather than fatigue himſelf any longer to ſo little purpoſe. After this ſtep, the *Hague* appeared no proper Place for him to reſide in, he therefore made haſte to finiſh the Buſineſs,

which required his Preſence there, and then ſet out for his Eſtate in *Groningen*, where he hoped to live more quiet. As ſoon as he arrived there, all the People of Diſtinction in the Neighbourhood came to pay their Reſpects to him, to congratulate him on his Return, and to aſſure him of their good Wiſhes, wherever he was, or whatever Meaſures he might take. But theſe Compliments, far from giving any Delight or Satisfaction to the *Baron de Ripperda*, made him only the more diſſatisfied, and raiſed his Averſion againſt that Country, which he ought to have revered. Unlucky Habitation! ſaid he one day to himſelf in his Garden, how do I long to eſcape from a Place, where Abilities and Ambition ſerve only to render a Man contemptible, and where dreaming over a Book, or being tied to ſome little Imployment, is called a happy State of Life. His Gardener, who overheard him, and who fancied that what he ſaid reflected on *Spain*, could not help crying out, Why do you torment yourſelf, Sir, is it not eaſy for you to ſend for my Lady and the Family home without going back again to that curſed Country, of which I have heard many People ſpeak as you do; nay, your very Chaplain ſays, that tho' he was a Miniſter, yet if he had not belonged to you, they would have put him into the Inquiſition. Well, it muſt be a ſtrange Place, where they can ſend a body to Jail, and keep one there; without telling one why or wherefore. It is true, I know nothing of it myſelf, but I have heard every body ſay ſo; therefore I am perſuaded, it muſt be as they ſay. Think you ſo, my Friend, ſaid the Baron ſmiling, I little thought you knew any thing of the Inquiſition. Pray in what Book did you read the Account you talk of? By my Troth, reply'd the Gardner, I ſpend none of my time in Reading. The Parſon of the Pariſh is my Author, he has talk'd of the Inquiſition

twenty

twenty times in his Sermons; ſome Friends of mine too knew ſomewhat of it in *Portugal.* One of them told me a long Story of an *Engliſh* Lad, who was clapt up only for ſaying, That the Maſs was a queer ſort of a Cuſtom; and was kept there the Lord knows how long, till the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador had him out again, and then he made ſuch a Deſcription of this Inquiſition you talk of, as would make a Man's hair ſtand an end. The Baron, charm'd with the Fellow's Frankneſs, gave him a great many good Words, promiſed to carry him with him to *Spain*, and take care of his Fortune, provided he would think of moderating his Diſlike to the Inquiſition. I give you a thouſand Thanks, Sir, ſaid the Gardener, but I ſhall never be able to do that; I ſhould certainly beſlave thoſe Prieſts, if I ſaw them going abont to murder any body for an idle ſort of an Expreſſion. But my Friend, ſaid the Baron, it is not they who murder People, it is the Laws that condemn them to death. Why then, Sir, returned the Gardener, they ſhould get ſome better ſort of Laws, for theſe muſt be very bad ones. It is better to live here upon black Bread and Water, than to eat Capons in ſuch a Devil of a Country, where a Man may be put to death for a Word's ſpeaking, or lie in Priſon all his Life for he does not know what. No! no! I like this ſame *Holland*, and had rather have it for my Country than all the *Spains* upon earth. The Baron laughed, and continued to perſuade the Man to think of leaving *Holland*, and of following his Fortunes into *Spain*; but the Gardener was as obſtinate in his way, and at laſt the Converſation grew as uneaſy to M. *de Ripperda*, as it had been at firſt agreeable. So that in the end he quitted the Man ſomewhat out of humour, and not a little mortified to ſee that natural Abilities, ſupported by Probity, are ſufficient to preſerve a Man againſt all the Attacks of Art.

When all things were ſettled, and he began to prepare in earneſt for his Return to *Spain*, he thought to induce ſeveral of his Dependants to embrace the Offer he made them of going along with him. But in this too he was miſtaken; his whole Retinue conſiſted only of a Valet de Chambre, and two or three Footmen. The former, who was a Native of *Picardy*, had embraced the Proteſtant Religion when his Maſter did it, and then thought it a very noble and generous Action, and now regulating his Faith by the Baron's, he was reſolved to go back again, rather than loſe all the Hopes of Fortune he had, which depended ſolely upon his Maſter's Favour. The Baron, on the other hand, was blind enough to apprehend, that this Inconſtancy in his Valet, was the Effect of his Attachment to himſelf; and hence it was, that he admitted him to Familiarities which did not at all agree with the Condition of Life he was in: ſo vain a Creature is Man, even when he is endowed with the greateſt Abilities!

The *Baron de Ripperda* took his journey thro' *France*, with all the expedition poſſible, that he might prevent the Expectations of his Friends, and arrive at *Madrid* before he was looked for. As to his Reception in that Capital, it came at leaſt up to, if it did not exceed his hopes. The King, the Queen, the principal Grandees, and above all the Jeſuits, expreſſed the higheſt Joy at the ſight of him, and at his Performance of the Promiſes he made them. Madam *de Ripperda*, whom the Reverend Fathers had ſolicited warmly to follow the Example given her by her Husband, ſtunn'd him with her long Accounts of the Civilities ſhew'd her by the Ladies, the Reſpect paid her by the Court, and the great Pleaſure ſhe had injoyed in the Converſations of the Clergy during his abſence. It was ſome Damp to his Pleaſures, that the Cardinal *Alberoni*

beroni happened to be indiſpoſed on the Day of his Audience, and could therefore do no more than make him his Compliments; but his Satisfaction was compleat, when, in the Evening, he received a Viſit from his Eminency, whoſe Head-ach left him in the Afternoon, and in that Viſit had all poſſible Aſſurances given him, that he ſhould have no Reaſon to repent his leaving his Country, and returning into the Boſom of the Catholick Church. As for the Miniſters of Proteſtant Powers, whom the Baron had ſo egregiouſly deceived at his Departure, they knew not what to make of this extraordinary Turn. At firſt, they affected to doubt of it; but when no room was left for that, Colonel *S*————, the *Britiſh* Miniſter, extricated them from all their Difficulties, by ſaying roundly, That Religion was a Man's own Affair, and that it would depend entirely upon the Baron *de Ripperda*'s future Conduct, whether he ſhould eſteem him more or leſs for the Change he had made.

From the time of the Baron *de Ripperda*'s Return into *Spain*, he had daily Conferences with the Queen, and the Cardinal-Miniſter. Theſe were ſometimes of ſuch an extraordinary Length, and managed with ſo many Precautions for the ſake of Secrecy, that the Publick became extremely inquiſitive about the Subject of them. However, notwithſtanding all the Meaſures taken to penetrate this myſterious Buſineſs, nothing tranſpired. It was indeed ſuggeſted, that they related to ſome foreign Negotiations, and a certain ſecret Expedition; whereas in fact, they had no ſuch end, but tended entirely to the ſettling a Woollen Manufactory in *Spain*, which the Baron firſt projected, and which by his Care was afterwards brought to great Perfection. Without diſpute the prime Object the Queen and Cardinal had in view, was the Advantage of the Nation; but it is as certain, that they

had in view likewiſe the prejudicing the *Engliſh* Trade. The Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*, which they looked upon as a kind of political Fetter, piqued the *Spaniards* ſo ſtrongly againſt this Nation, that there was nothing they more earneſtly deſired than to make them feel their Reſentment. The Cardinal well knew, that this could be done no other way than by hurting their Trade; he knew likewiſe that the *Engliſh* bought up the *Spaniſh* Wool, and having manufactured it at home, tranſported again thoſe Manufactures into *Spain*, where they ſold them at what Price they pleaſed. His Eminence alſo foreſaw, that the interfering at all with the woollen Trade, would extremely alarm that Nation, and that nothing was eaſier than for the *Engliſh* to check, or even to put an entire end to the Projects of *Spain*, which were to be executed by a naval Force; yet he reſolved to puſh this Project as far as poſſible under the Direction of *Ripperda:* and therefore on this, if on no other account, the *Spaniſh* Nation hath great Obligations to the Cardinal-Miniſter, ſince otherwiſe they never had ſeen any thing of that Manufacture in their Country, which is now carried on ſo much to its advantage.

Notwithſtanding the great and conſtant Application, which M. *de Ripperda* found himſelf obliged to give to the new Imployment he had undertaken, yet he did not ſuffer it to interfere with the main Buſineſs of his Return to *Spain*, that of abjuring the Proteſtant Religion, which he performed with as much ſtudied Solemnity, as if he thought it poſſible to eclipſe thereby that Senſe of his Inconſtancy which he ſaw in the moſt intelligent of his familiar Friends. On the day fixed for that Ceremony, the Baron went to the Palace of St. *Ildefonſo*, at eleven of the clock in the Morning, where he found the *Prince* of *Aſturias*, and many of the Grandees of

Spain

Spain waiting. The Buſineſs of the Day was begun by a Jeſuit, whom the Cardinal *del Giudice* had charged with the Care of his Converſion. After this, he was conducted to the Chapel-Royal, where their *Catholick Majeſties* and the *Infants* of *Spain* were preſent. Then Don *Antonio Alvaro de Mendoça* made a long and learned Diſcourſe, wherein he refuted, or at leaſt endeavoured to refute the Errors of the Proteſtant Religion; he pointed out all the Advantages of the Church of *Rome*, ſuch as her having an infallible Guide, an uninterrupted Succeſſion in the Church, and the Power of the Keys. He concluded his Oration with a long and labour'd Character of the new Convert. After this the Company heard Maſs, and the *Baron de Ripperda* took the uſual Oaths, which were adminiſtred by the ſame Prieſt. When the Solemnity was over, the Baron, in the moſt humble manner, thanked the *Prince* of *Aſturias* for the Honour he did him in aſſiſting thereat; he then went and ſaluted their Majeſties, after which he left the Palace to go and dine with the Jeſuits. As ſoon as he arrived at their Convent, he was complimented there by the moſt eminent Eccleſiaſticks, and many of the *Grandees* of *Spain*, who were alſo invited to Dinner by the General of the Order. Theſe Forms over, a very magnificent Entertainment ſucceeded, which was not interrupted by any over-ſerious Diſcourſe. Towards the Cloſe of it the Baron invited all who were preſent to ſupper at his own Houſe. This Invitation they readily accepted, and were there regaled in a moſt ſuperb manner, the *Baroneſs de Ripperda* taking a great deal of pains to render herſelf agreeable to the Company, and ſeveral times repeating her great Satisfaction in ſeeing the Baron fixed for Life in *Spain*, preferable to all the Countries in the World.

The

The News of the *Baron de Ripperda*'s Abjuration, when brought to *Holland*, became the Topic of Converſation in all polite Places, and eſpecially at the Tables of foreign Miniſters: The Friends of the Gentleman concerned, who were extremely ſcandalized at his manner of proceeding, were ſo far from defending him, that they ſpoke of his Conduct with greater Reſentment than any others, eſpecially in regard to that part of it which more nearly related to themſelves, his diſſembling in the manner he had done, and his giving them ſuch ſolemn Aſſurances, even at his Departure for *Spain*, that he would live and die a Proteſtant. One of them, the Baron *de* ——— could not forbear writing to him in the following terms.

To the BARON DE RIPPERDA.

'AS I intereſt my ſelf, Sir, extremely in all 'things relating to you, the Detail I have 'had of your late Conduct hath given me inex-'preſſible Concern. I have been ſo fully appriz'd 'of it, by ſuch as have had many Opportunities 'of looking into it, that I do not, I cannot doubt 'of your having diſſembled exceſſively in all you 'ſaid to your Friends here, and to myſelf eſpe-'cially; and if I had not been afraid of interrupt-'ing your great Joy, I had before now taken that 'liberty, which Friendſhip allows, of complain-'ing of your Treatment in this Particular.'

What can, Sir, contribute to your Reputation 'after this ſo flagrant a Proof of your Inconſtancy? 'I am not unacquainted with that charming Na-'tion, where the Genius and the Manners of the 'People ſeem to diſpute which ſhall have the moſt 'Right to be admired. I enter readily, Sir, into 'thoſe extraordinary Tranſports, which make

'you

'you forget your Country, that your Mind may 'have the more room to receive the mighty Idea 'you have formed of *Spain*. I can forgive, Sir, 'that extraordinary Step in your Conduct, and I 'muſt acknowledge, that it would be extremely 'difficult for you to preſerve any Remembrance of '*Holland*, tho' it is your Country, conſidering how 'vaſtly inferior it is to *Spain*, that Region where 'Virtue is ſo highly admired, and ſo amply recom-'penſed.'

'But after all, ought you not to fear, dear Sir, 'the Fate of thoſe unhappy Men, whom Ambi-'tion and the Love of Riches entirely poſſeſs; I 'mean the being buried in the Waves even in ſight 'of the propoſed Port. The Thirſt of Greatneſs 'is increaſed by what ought to gratify, our Hopes 'flatter us, the Fears of what envious Perſons may 'attempt diſturb us in ſuch a manner, that having 'once given way to Imprudence, we only acquire 'even in obtaining our Deſires new Subjects of 'Diſquiet, which is the fatal Conſequence of ſacri-'ficing Liberty to the Love of Grandeur.'

'Permit me, Sir, to offer to you theſe Remon-'ſtrances, you know they are due to our ancient 'Friendſhip, and to that Affection and Sincerity, 'with which I have the Honour to be.' *&c.*

To this the Baron *de Ripperda* made the follow-ing Reply, by the very next Poſt, that his Friend might not reproach him with want of Civility as well as Sincerity.

To ——

'YOU might, Sir, very juſtly charge me with 'Ingratitude, if I ſhould be wanting in teſ-'tifying the Senſe I have of the kind Concern you 'ex-

'expreſs on my behalf, and the Teſtimonies of 'Friendſhip you have given me.

'I am not at all ſurprized, that Perſons acquain-'ted with my manner of behaving here, have ta-'ken the trouble to give you an Account of it; 'there are ſo many inquiſitive People, that it 'would have been very idle in me had I flatter'd 'myſelf with the hopes of eſcaping their Obſer-'vation.

'I do, Sir, very readily acknowledge, that I 'did not confide to you my Deſign as to Religion. 'But as I had no favourable Occaſion of doing 'this, you ought not to accuſe me of Diſſimula-'tion. On the contrary, Sir, you know very 'well, it was my Intereſt not to mention what I 'knew would draw upon me your Hate. Had 'I not known your Prejudices on this Subject, 'without doubt I ſhould have taken the pains of 'juſtifying myſelf towards you.

'However it be, Sir, there is certainly no In-'tereſt preferable to the Tranquility and Quiet of 'one's Conſcience; and theſe are the real Motives 'which have determined me to the ſteps I have 'taken. Men are born free, and yet become Slaves 'by their Prejudices; if that ſhould be my Caſe, 'I certainly owe it to my ill Stars, and not to 'any ſiniſter Views.

'As to *Spain*, Sir, without doubt it has its 'Advantages, as other Countries have theirs; and 'I muſt own, that as the Air here agrees better 'with my Conſtitution, than the cold foggy Ele-'ment in *Holland*, I have for this reaſon, as well 'as that of Religion, thought fit to reſide in *Spain*, 'where I have no Apprehenſions of the Shipwreck 'you talk of; becauſe whatever other People may 'think, I know very well, that I have no extra-'ordinary and much leſs boundleſs Views, but on 'the contrary, ſuch as may be very eaſily ſatisfied,

'and

'and thereby render me contented. Be perſuaded, 'Sir, that your Remonſtrances appear to me the 'ſtrongeſt Evidences of your Friendſhip, and that 'I eſteem them, and ſhall always eſteem them as 'the Objects of my Reſpect and Submiſſion.' I am,

With the deepeſt Regard,
Your moſt obedient, humble Servant,
The Baron de Ripperda.

Theſe Letters are ſufficient to charecterize the Circumſtances the Baron *de Ripperda* was then in; and we do not apprehend, that there is any Neceſſity to purſue this Point farther, and to fatigue the *Engliſh* Reader with all that was ſaid in *Holland*, or wrote to *Spain pro* and *con*. The Event in itſelf was extraordinary, the Perſon it concerned conſiderable, even when it happened, and much more ſo afterwards; but as to ſuch Diſcourſes and Letters, they would ſerve only to embaraſs the Courſe of the Narration, and ſwell the Bulk of theſe Memoirs with very unentertaining Particulars.

The Affairs of *Spain* were at this time in a very nice and critical Situation; the *Cardinal-Miniſter*, tho' he was one of the greateſt and moſt induſtrious Politicians of his time, found himſelf overloaded with Buſineſs, and incapable of ſuſtaining alone that Weight which he had taken upon himſelf. The Queen ſaw this, and therefore propoſed to him more than once the bringing in the *Baron de Ripperda* to bear a part. He had, as we obſerv'd before, daily Conferences with the Queen and her Miniſter, and the latter had expreſſed himſelf often in Terms highly advantagious to the *Baron de Ripperda*'s Character as a Politician. His Eminency however could not brook the taking him in as a Coadjutor, for many reaſons, and amongſt others for theſe: Becauſe being himſelf a Man of low Birth,

Birth, and having in his Temper a great deal of Heat and Haughtineſs, tho' mixt with many good Qualities, and Abilities truly admirable, he foreſaw that if *Ripperda*, who had Talents little inferiour to his own, and who had neither his Meanneſs, nor his ill Qualities, ſhould once come into play, his Reputation would be deſtroyed, and the *Spaniards* would begin to think of chuſing, of two Strangers, him who was the moſt bearable. To ſay the truth, he had the ſtrongeſt Reaſons for thinking in this manner, if we conſider that Haughtineſs and Reſerve with which he treated all Degrees of People, their Majeſties not excepted. A Haughtineſs the more inexcuſable, his Fortune conſidered.

But notwithſtanding the Cardinal did not think proper to comply with the Queen's Deſire, yet he very readily made uſe of M. *de Ripperda* in ſuch Affairs as came before the Council, and were therefore none of thoſe Arcana on which his Miniſtry depended. For with reſpect to theſe, the famous *Richlieu* fell far ſhort of him in the Arts of Concealment. He had ſo filled their Majeſties Heads with Notions of Secrecy, that by degrees he prevailed upon them to believe, that it would be much for their Intereſt, if even themſelves were ignorant of the Methods made uſe of by him in the Management of their Affairs. If this was not a Fact at this time notoriouſly known, and generally agreed upon, one would be aſhamed to mention it; as, without all doubt, Poſterity will be extremely unwilling to believe it. Yet ſo it was, that while Cardinal *Alberoni* tranſported Forces into *Italy*, entered into Negotiations with the Princes there, equipt Fleets, built Ships, repaired Ports, and made openly vaſt Preparations for War; no body could penetrate the Myſtery, neither did their Catholick Majeſties certainly know what it was he intended. But as theſe numerous

and

and vaſt Deſigns, tho' they were all projected, could not be all executed by himſelf alone, ſo the Baron *de Ripperda* was called in to aſſiſt in ſuch Caſes as were beſt ſuited to his Genius. He had a Head extremely fertile in Projects, he was never at a loſs for Expedients. In ſuch Matters, as required this ſort of Skill, the Baron *de Ripperda* was always and chiefly concerned; but in others, there was ſuch a Similarity between his Genius and that of the Cardinal's, as would not permit his Eminence to call in his help, leſt his own extraordinary Faculties ſhould have ſuffered, either in the Opinion of the Council or of their Majeſties.

One of the great Points, which *Alberoni* had in view, was the freeing *Italy* from the *Germans*, and thereby delivering his natural Sovereign the Duke of *Parma* from thoſe Terrors, which he was continually under by the Pretenſions formed on his Dominions by his Imperial Majeſty. This Deſign he concealed under the ſpecious Pretext, of ſeeing with regret the Provinces dependent on the Crown of *Spain* diſmembred therefrom, which Diſcourſe he knew would prove alike pleaſing to the King and to the People. The Emperor being then engaged in a War againſt the *Turks*, he conceived that no time could be more proper for wreſting from him ſome of thoſe Provinces, which the Urgency of Affairs rendered it neceſſary for *Spain* to give up to him by the Peace of *Utrecht*. The better to conceal his Views, he had adviſed, even before he was poſſeſſed of the Miniſtry, the equipping a Fleet, which was ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, and by the lucky Arrival of which *Corfou* was preſerved. In right of this Action, he came to be conſidered as a true Friend to the *Italians*, and procured from the *Pope* a Bull, allowing the King to raiſe a vaſt Sum of Money from his

his Clergy, under pretence of its being imployed againſt the Enemies of the Croſs; he likewiſe gain'd by this means an Opportunity of proceeding without diſturbance on a naval Armament, which would otherwiſe have alarmed all *Europe*, and from which the *Venetians* expected vaſt things. The Expedition however was intended againſt *Sardinia*, at that time in the hands of the Emperor, to whom it had been yielded by Treaty. As nothing could be plainer than that this was an Infraction of the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, and conſequently nothing more likely to revive that Alliance, which had brought the two Crowns into ſuch diſmal Circumſtances, his Eminency thought fit to cauſe the following Letter to be ſent to each of the Publick Miniſters at the Court of *Spain*, to perſuade them, if poſſible, of the Uprightneſs of his Intentions.

Copy of a Letter from the Marquis Grimaldi, *one of the Principal Secretaries of State in the Court of* Madrid, *to the Miniſters of his Catholick Majeſty at the ſeveral Foreign Courts.* Dated Aug. 9. 1717.

'IT is not to be doubted, that the Paſſage and 'Employment of the Forces of the King (whom 'God preſerve) for the Reduction of the Iſle of '*Sardinia*, at a time when all the Chriſtian States 'had reaſon to perſuade themſelves, that that Ar-'mament was deſigned to reinforce the Chriſtian 'Fleet againſt the common Enemy, according to 'the generous Offers which his Majeſty had made 'to his Holineſs; has much ſurprized your Excel-'lency, as well as the Publick, ſeeing that I my-'ſelf have been extremely aſtoniſhed at it, who 'having the Honour to be ſo near his Majeſty, 'may be allowed ſo much the more to know what

'no

'no body is unacquainted with, his Uprightneſs, 'his Juſtice, his religious Obſervance of his Royal 'Word, his extreme Delicacy in Matters of Con-'ſcience, and his Superiority of Spirit in Adverſi-'ties, which are ſo many Parts which compoſe 'this Monarch, and make him ſurpaſs his Prede-'ceſſors, the moſt Catholick and the moſt Holy. 'In the mean time, who can imagine, that a 'Prince, adorn'd with all theſe Virtues, forgetting 'himſelf (as we may ſay) ſo much, ſhould under-'take an Act of Hoſtility againſt the Arch-Duke, 'at a time when he had upon his hands ſo dan-'gerous a War againſt the *Turks*, and when even 'the Coaſts of the Eccleſiaſtical State were threat-'ned with an Invaſion? The Caſe being thus, no 'body can reaſon otherwiſe, than that the Mo-'tives muſt be very great and very preſſing, that 'ſhould force ſuch a Reſolution; Motives, which 'after a long and ſurprizing Silence, I have at laſt 'been informed of from the living Oracle of his 'Majeſty's ſacred Mouth, with order to communi-'cate it to your Excellency, which I ſhall do with 'all poſſible Brevity.

'Greatneſs of Soul made his Majeſty bear with 'the Diſmemberment of his Dominions, which the 'Plenipotentiaries would ſacrifice to the Tranquil-'lity of *Europe*. After which he perſuaded him-'ſelf, that theſe ſtipulated Sacrifices would at leaſt 'have ſecured to him the Reſt of this Nation, as 'glorious as afflicted.

'But no ſooner had he complied with the Surren-'der of *Sicily*, in favour of the Repoſe of *Spain*, 'upon the Condition of the Evacuation of *Catalonia* 'and the Iſle of *Majorca*, than he found that the 'Orders received for that purpoſe were concealed; 'and when at laſt it came to the knowledge of his 'Allies, it was pretended, that the Treaty ſhould 'be executed, by virtue whereof his Majeſty de-

'manded the Evacuation of the Places. Nothing
'was more eaſy for that purpoſe, than for the Gar-
'riſons of the Arch-Duke to have ſurrender'd to
'the King's Troops the Gates of the Places they
'poſſeſſed, in the ſame manner as was reciprocally
'practiſed among the Potentates of *Europe*; but
'quite on the contrary, the Generals of the
'Arch-Duke violating the Publick Faith of Trea-
'ties, and the reciprocal Engagements, abandon'd
'the Places to the *Catalans*, making them at the
'ſame time believe, that they would ſoon return,
'and thereby fomented their Diſquiet and rebellious
'Spirit, ſo far as to induce them to think of a fu-
'rious and obſtinate Reſiſtance; and for the better
'Support of that Reſiſtance, which was the more
'injurious to his Majeſty, as it was powerful, the
'Generals when they embarked, permitted that the
'Horſes of their Troops ſhould be left and aban-
'don'd to the Rebels. And they had even a De-
'ſign to deliver to them *Oſtalric*, a Place that had
'been put into their hands for the more eaſy and
'ſafe Imbarkation of their Troops.

'What Expences, what Deſtructions, and what
'Afflictions and Miſeries, has not this Violation
'of Faith and Contravention of Treaties, which
'ought to be ſacred, brought upon *Spain?* The
'Continuation of the War had been leſs ſenſible,
'and the Loſſes it might have brought more glo-
'rious to *Spain*.

'With all this the King, for the love of Peace,
'diſſembled, and ſhut his Eyes upon the continual
'Succours that came from *Naples*, to ſupport the
'Boldneſs of the Rebels, in hopes of procuring
'ſtep by ſtep Repoſe to his Subjects, after ſo long
'and ruinous a War, and another without name.
'How much more eaſy would it have been for
'his Majeſty to have invaded, with his powerful
'Armies and Squadrons, the Dominions the Arch-

'Duke

'Duke poſſeſſed, to make him ſenſible of the injurious and inſidious Treatment, he had been guilty of? But notwithſtanding all this, the Effects of his Breach of Faith did not ſtop there.

'Letters were ſent to the Generals and Governours of *Majorca*, to ſurrender it to the King; but contrary Orders privately given, animated them to delay the Performance, and gain time for the Arrival of *German* Succours, to force *Spain* to a new War, to equip Squadrons, and to plunge the Kingdom into new Expences and Miſeries, till in the end, the King made himſelf Maſter of the City, and the Iſland was delivered to him.

'It muſt naturally be believed, that theſe manifeſt and authentick Acts of the Breach of Faith did not end there. But the Miniſtry of *Vienna* went ſo far, as to approve them by publick Demonſtrations, and by the Recompences given to the moſt obſtinate Rebels, and who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their criminal Operations, declaring themſelves thereby the Authors of Actions ſo injurious, committed by a People, ſo unworthy, ſo vile, and ſo perfidious.

'The War which the *Turks* declared againſt the Emperor, preſented certainly to his Majeſty a fair Opportunity of revenging himſelf, and opened a Door to re-enter the Dominions uſurped from him. But inſtead of taking advantage of that Conjuncture, he not only condeſcended not to diſturb the Peace of *Italy*, but in oppoſition to his own Intereſt, he indirectly contributed to the aggrandizing of his Enemy, employing his own Forces, by a Motive of Religion, to reinforce the Allies of the Arch-Duke, and aſſiſt them in conquering his Enemies.

'The King after this believed, that a Conduct ſo ſincere and diſintereſted would have produced in the Mind of the Arch-Duke, if not a Deſire

'of Peace, at leaſt the Attention and Regard which
'is obſerved even among declared Enemies, and
'the Generals of Armies in ſight of one another, a-
'mong whom reciprocal Civilities are obſerved.
'But far from following that Practice, injurious
'Declarations have on the contrary been publiſhed
'at *Vienna*, in *Italy*, and in *Flanders*, againſt the
'Perſon of the King, and againſt his Crown; ſo
'far as to cauſe the Inquiſitor-General of *Spain* to
'be ſeized, notwithſtanding that he was furniſhed
'with the Pope's Paſſport, fortified with the Con-
'ſent and Approbation of Cardinal *Schrottenbach*.
'This laſt Act has recalled to the mind of his Ma-
'jeſty the paſt Offences and the Obligations that
'lie upon a King, to revenge himſelf, and acquire
'Satisfaction for the Injuries he has ſuffered; which
'he cannot diſpenſe with, without weakening his
'Authority in the Minds of his People; who will
'look upon him as incapable of ſecuring their Re-
'poſe, if he puts up the Affronts that are offered to
'his regal Dignity.

'Upon all which it is to be conſidered, that the
'Miniſtry of *Vienna* have at all times ſought all
'means poſſible of humbling the Minds of a Na-
'tion ſo ſcrupulous and delicate in the Point of Ho-
'nour, and who take ſuch Offence at a publick In-
'jury offered their King. Nothing but theſe ſeri-
'ous Conſiderations could have put a ſtop to the
'Courſe of his Majeſty's Intentions of ſending the
'powerful Succours that were prepared againſt the
'Enemy of the Arch-Duke the *Turk*, and excite
'his Juſtice to employ them in a lawful Vengeance.

'Your Excellency is charged to make known,
'that his Majeſty, who has concur'd in adjuſting the
'Differences of *Rome*, with a Zeal and Intention
'ſo pure, for the Good and Honour of the Church,
'could never without the moſt powerful Motives,
'have ſtop'd thoſe Forces with which he was always

'diſpoſed

'diſpoſed to aggrandize it. And it is a great Mor-
'tification to me to ſee, that theſe Succours, de-
'manded by his Holineſs, are for ſome time de-
'lay'd, which his Majeſty, through a juſt Reſent-
'ment, cannot avoid. It were to be hoped, that
'the Conduct of the Miniſters of a Prince ſo con-
'ſiderable, as is the Arch-Duke, had been regu-
'lated and proportion'd to the Dignity of a So-
'vereign; and that they had not expoſed them-
'ſelves to the juſt Blame that is due to a continual
'and manifeſt Want of good Faith.'

This Letter or Manifeſto, tho' every body allowed it to be drawn with great Art, had by no means the deſired Effect. The King of *Great Britain*, who, on the 25th of *May*, 1716, had ſigned a new *Treaty* with the *Emperor* at *London*, was thereby engaged, as well as by Inclination, to prevent the ambitious Deſigns of the Court of *Spain* from taking place; in order to which, he form'd a Scheme for uniting with himſelf *France*, then under the Dominion of the Duke of *Orleans* as *Regent*, and the *States-General*, in the Meaſures neceſſary for the Support of the Tranquility of *Europe*. With this View, he ſent Orders to his Miniſters, at the ſeveral Courts before-mention'd, to make the moſt preſſing Repreſentations on this head, and at the ſame time diſpatch'd Mr. *Stanhope* to *Spain*, to ſecond the no leſs preſſing Inſtances of his Miniſter at that Court, to obtain a Delay of the Expedition againſt *Sardinia*. He wrote likewiſe a Letter to the *States-General*, ſetting forth the dangerous Conſequences that would unavoidably attend the rekindling of a War in *Europe*; conjuring them to concur with him in taking quick and vigorous Meaſures for preventing them.

The Marquis *de Beretti Landi*, was at this time entruſted with the Care of his Catholick Majeſty's

Affairs at the *Hague*. He was an *Italian* of quick Parts, and of a very inſinuating Addreſs, and becauſe we ſhall have occaſion to mention him very frequently hereafter, it may not be improper to inſert here a conciſe Account of ſo conſiderable a Perſon. He was by Birth the Countryman of *Alberoni*, that is, of the Duchy of *Placentia*, deſcended of a noble Family, and educated with great care; he was Page to the laſt Duke of *Mantua*, afterwards his Counſellor, and at laſt Prime Miniſter. He had been employ'd in the Service of that Prince in moſt of the Courts of *Europe*, and had acquired ſo high a Reputation for his Skill in Negotiation, that, with the Conſent of his Maſter, he entered into the Service of *Philip* V. at his earneſt Deſire. In the Year 1705, he was appointed Ambaſſador to the *Swiſs Cantons*, with whom he concluded an Alliance, and by his Addreſs maintained a good Correſpondence, not only between the Catholick *Cantons*, but alſo between the Proteſtants and his Maſter, and conſtantly defeated all the Efforts of the Count *de Trautſmandorf* the Imperial Miniſter, which was of the higheſt Conſequence to the Court of *Spain*. His great Abilities, and a pathetic Eloquence, in which he was ſuperiour to moſt Men of his time, inclined his Catholick Majeſty in 1716, to ſend him to the *Hague*, in the place of the Marquis *de Mirabella*; becauſe it was foreſeen that the Negotiations there would require a Miniſter of a calm Temper and great Capacity.

When the *Deputies* of the *States* acquainted this Miniſter with the Surprize they were under, at the Steps taken by his Court, he anſwer'd them very ſmoothly, aſſuring them, that he had no ſort of Knowledge of the Expedition they mentioned, but that he was poſitive that his Catholick Majeſty would not have taken this Step, but upon very clear, as well as ſtrong Motives, and that he was

alſo

alſo inclined to think, that upon the Remonſtrances made by the King of *Great Britain*, and their *High Mightineſſes*, he would content himſelf with the Conqueſt of *Sardinia*, without carrying his Arms farther. But when he ſaw, that ſuch Excuſes had not any great Effect, that the *States* ſeemed to act with greater Vigour than they had been wont to do, he chang'd his Conduct on the Arrival of a Courier from *Spain*, who either had brought, or he pretended had brought new Inſtructions; he demanded a Conference in his turn, at which he deliver'd a *Memorial*, drawn in a Stile peculiar to himſelf. He took notice of their having demanded of him the Reaſons upon which his Court acted. He referred himſelf in part to the Letter of the Marquis *de Grimaldi*, and then as a Specimen only of the infinite Matter he had in his Head, he ſuggeſted ſeveral very extraordinary Inſtances of the Emperor's inſidious Behaviour. Your *High Mightineſſes*, ſaid he, will obſerve, that when his Holineſs demanded and obtained from the King my Maſter, a Promiſe that he would do nothing contrary to the Treaty for preſerving the Neutrality of *Italy*, he likewiſe demanded from the *Arch-Duke* a Promiſe, that he would not on his ſide attempt, or countenance any Attempts to diſturb his *Catholick Majeſty* in *Spain*, or in any other of the Dominions yielded to him by the Treaty of *Utrecht*. To which he not only never conſented, but he did not even think proper to give his Holineſs an Anſwer. Then as to the *Treaty* of *Neutrality* itſelf, the *Arch-Duke* violated it frequently and openly. By virtue of it, *Father Molinos* the *Grand Inquiſitor*, might, if he had thought proper, paſſed through the *Milaneze*, without any Paſſport; but to avoid all Diſputes, he took one from his *Holineſs*, which the Cardinal *de Schrottenbach* aſſured his Holineſs, would have the utmoſt Reſpect paid to it; yet no

ſooner was the Inquiſitor in the power of the *Arch-Duke*, but he cauſed him to be arreſted, and detains him ſtill as a Priſoner. By the *Treaty* of *Neutrality*, the *Italian* Princes were put under Cover; yet your *High Mightineſſes* know what exceſſive Contributions have been extorted from them, notwithſtanding that Treaty. The Edict publiſhed at *Vienna*, in relation to the Dominion of the Republick of *Venice* over the *Adriatick*, is ſtill more ſurprizing. That Republick is engaged in a War with the *Turk*, as well as the *Arch-Duke*; ſhe has lately made a Treaty with him, whereby God only knows what ſhe has been forced to yield, and yet at this very juncture, the Arch-Duke ſtrikes as it were a Dagger into her Boſom. Permit me to ſay, that in taking notice of this Fact, I lay down a very uſeful Maxim for the benefit of whatever Court may have occaſion to negotiate with that Prince. I muſt likewiſe further obſerve, that in direct Violation of this Treaty, the *Arch-Duke* keeps up at *Vienna* what he calls a *Council* of *Spain*, wherein there is nothing agitated, but ſuch Deſigns as tend to the Diſturbance of my Maſter. In this Council, there has been lately concerted a Scheme for ſeizing this Winter the *Port* of *Leghorn*. Your *High Mightineſſes* know of what Importance ſuch a Step would be to all *Europe*. You cannot but ſee how openly this Prince purſues the great Point of ingroſſing all *Italy*. At the late Congreſs at *Baden*, the *Italian* Princes had their Miniſters; but they were ſent away with this rude Anſwer, That they ought to make their Applications no where but at the Court of *Vienna*. What they are to expect there, we may well enough conceive from the *Arch-Duke*'s keeping *Mantua*, which is the Citadel of *Italy*, notwithſtanding the Rights of a certain *Family* ſo ſtrongly attached to him, that all the Evaſions of his *Aulic* Council can never qualify his Uſurpation.

Let

Let me farther, ſaid he, remark to your High Mightineſſes, that the Point his *Britannick Majeſty* and yourſelves ſeem to have in view, is the maintaining the *Balance* of *Power* in *Europe*. Now the Balance of Power in *Europe* depends immediately on a Balance of Power in *Italy*; and it would be extremely odd to think of maintaining that, by ſupporting the Pretenſions of a *Prince*, who endeavours to overturn it. The Marquis concluded his Memorial, with the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of his *Catholick Majeſty*'s Friendſhip for their *High Mightineſſes*, and kind Inclinations towards their Subjects in point of Trade, *&c.* A thing this Miniſter conſtantly aſſerted in private Diſcourſe, and by aſſerting which, he hoped to carry his point, both with thoſe in the Government and with the People. I have given place to theſe Memorials, in order to ſhew the Temper and Addreſs of the *Spaniſh Miniſter*; but as an exact Account of the Tranſactions in *Spain*, from this Time to the Expulſion of the *Cardinal Alberoni*, would take up a great deal of room, without allowing me to ſay much of him, whoſe Memoirs I am writing, I ſhall therefore, as I apprehend, take a ſhorter and better Method, and laying before the Eyes of the Reader, what is neceſſary to make the following Sheets thoroughly underſtood, I ſhall refer him for other Particulars to the *Hiſtories* of thoſe Times, which are or ſhall be written.

In the firſt place, I ſhall ſtate the Views of the *Spaniſh Miniſtry*, while *Cardinal Alberoni* was at the head of it. I ſhall next take notice of the *Schemes* of the *Emperor* and his *Allies*, for thwarting the Deſigns of the *Spaniſh Miniſtry*. Then I ſhall conſider the Means employed by the *former*, to defeat by Art the *ſuperiour Force* of the *latter:* And laſtly, I ſhall give a ſhort View of the Conſequences of this Struggle, which will lead me to ſhew the

State

State of *Affairs* at the time the *Baron de Ripperda* began to act for himſelf, and upon his *own Maxims*.

The Situation of his *Catholick* Majeſty's Affairs at the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, was ſuch, as on the whole made it very advantagious to him; for it left him in full poſſeſſion of *Spain* and the *Weſt Indies*, and it procured the re-acknowledging him as the Sovereign of thoſe Countries by *Great Britain* and *Holland*. But notwithſtanding all this, the Terms ſtipulated by that Treaty left great Heart-burnings and Uneaſineſs in the Breaſt of his Majeſty, the *Grandees* of *Spain*, and the *Italian Princes*, which it will be neceſſary to explain. King *Philip* ſaw his Country in a very diſtreſt and miſerable Condition, by a long and cruel War, and himſelf by certain Circumſtances of the Peace left without Power to remedy theſe Evils. It was agreed, that *Catalonia* ſhould be delivered up to him, and yet he ſaw himſelf conſtrained to conquer it; in order to which, he was forced, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, to beg Alms from door to door, his Treaſury being ſo exhauſted, that for a Supply, he publiſhed a Decree, ſetting forth the Nature of the Expedition, the Neceſſity and Conſequence thereof, beſeeching all Degrees of People, to give what they could ſpare, and ordering a diſtinct Receipt to be given to every Perſon, expreſſing his Title and the Sum received. After all, *Barcelona* never had been reduced, if its Reduction had depended on the Power of *Spain*, and *Majorca* ſtill diſowned his Authority, when all the other Princes who were concerned in the War, had all things yielded to them, without Trouble or Expence. He had the mortification to ſee himſelf obliged not only to give up *Naples*, which had once been his; but had alſo the additional Grief of delivering up *Sicily*, which was yet in his Power. He ſaw likewiſe the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Gibraltar*,

and

and the Iſland of *Minorca* left in the hands of the *Engliſh*, after having loſt many thouſands of Men, and ſpent Millions in fruitleſs Endeavours to wreſt them out of their hands. In one word, he ſaw the War at an end, and yet himſelf not at Peace, a part of his Subjects ruined for having been loyal to him, and himſelf under a neceſſity of ruining the reſt, becauſe they had not been loyal, his Title unacknowledged by his Competitor, and his new Friends but very ill-ſatisfied with their being conſider'd in that light: All his hopes reſting on his Grandfather, who had placed him upon his Throne, and who dying left him withont one cordial Ally, or any Power, whom he could ſafely call a Friend.

The Grandees of *Spain* had juſt Reaſons alſo to be not a little diſpleaſed with the State they were in. For beſides that Eclipſe, which the Luſtre of the *Spaniſh* Diadem had received by the diſmembring of the *Italian* Dominions, they had been trebly injured. Firſt, their Eſtates in *Spain* were ruined in the Courſe of the War, and the precarious State of things left them little hopes of repairing themſelves by the Peace. Next, they had many of them large Concerns in *Sicily* and *Naples*, which were now greatly in danger, if not loſt. Laſtly, the Court was governed by the Princeſs of *Urſins*, or at leaſt by Foreigners in her Favour, and themſelves very little conſidered by a *French* Prince, whom by their ſteady Loyalty they had ſet upon the Throne.

As for the Princes of *Italy*, they were truly in a deplorable Situation. For ſeveral Centuries, they had preſerved themſelves by balancing the Power of Strangers; and tho' they were never abſolutely at quiet, yet they reaped ſome Benefit even from this Evil, becauſe they were conſtantly awake, and by proper Negotiations kept the *French* and *Spaniſh* Power pretty equally poized. At the Treaty of *Utrecht*, they ſaw themſelves in danger of Ruin,

and

and their Ruin ſeemed to be ſealed by the Treaty of *Baden*. The Emperor ſtood poſſeſſed of the great Duchy of *Milan*, of the Duchy of *Mantua* and its Dependencies, of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of the Iſland of *Sardinia*, the Duke of *Modena* was abſolutely his Creature, he formed Pretenſions upon the Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, he treated the *Great Duke* haughtily, the Pope with Contempt, the *Venetians* as People who could do nothing without him, the King of *Sicily* as one he could not confide in, and the State of *Genoa* as a City at his mercy. In this miſerable Situation the *Italian* Powers, always attentive to their Intereſt, and ever prone to Intrigues, began to caſt their eyes on every ſide, and as there is juſt reaſon to believe, had ſet on foot ſome Negotiations in *France*, when the unexpected Death of *Lewis* XIV. left them deſtitute at once of Hope and of Help.

While King *Philip* the Vth's firſt Queen lived, and during the ſhort Interval after her Death, wherein all things were directed by the Princeſs of *Urſins*, the Politics of the *Spaniſh* Court were not very intelligible. The *Cardinal del Giudice* perſuaded their Majeſties, that they ought to think of nothing ſo much as eſtabliſhing their own Authority, and ſecuring effectually the Dominions which God had given them. He quieted the *Spaniſh* Nobility with hopes of recovering *Sicily*, by virtue of ſome ſecret Treaty with the Duke of *Savoy*, the Queen's Father, to whom that Iſland had been given. He amuſed the *Italians* with various Negotiations, and in fact endeavoured all he could to ſecure the Intereſts of his Family, by keeping a Door open for a Reconciliation with the *Arch-Duke*, as the *Emperor* was called in *Spain*. This laſt might have been eaſily effected, if he had propoſed the eldeſt *Leopoldine Arch-Ducheſs*, for the Wife of his Maſter, after the Deceaſe of his firſt Queen; but neglecting

lecting to do this time enough, *Alberoni* found a Method of tranſacting the whole Buſineſs of the Marriage with the Princeſs of *Parma*, not only without his Advice and Conſent, but even without his Knowledge; and after it had taken effect, ſo expoſed his Errors and the inexplicable Artifice of his Conduct, that as we have ſhewn before, he was obliged to retire.

As for Cardinal *Alberoni*, he, from the beginning of his Miniſtry, affected an impenetrable Secrecy, in which he was ſo lucky as to amuſe all the Princes of *Europe* for many Months, and to deceive the famous *Victor Amadeus*, *King* of *Sicily*, and *Duke* of *Savoy*, who very juſtly paſt for the moſt ſagacious Prince of his time. But by degrees the Myſtery of his Policy hath been unravell'd; and we may now with certainty lay down what his real and what his pretended Deſigns were. Firſt then, he gave their Majeſties the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that he would make them powerful and abſolute, that he would reſtore to the Crown of *Spain* the Provinces that had been taken from it, and by improving the Trade and Manufactures of the Kingdom, make the People rich and happy. He perſuaded the Grandees, that he had nothing in view but the Glory and Intereſt of *Spain*; under colour of ſupporting of which, he drew from them, partly by fair means, partly by force, immenſe Sums, which he imploy'd in raiſing Armies, building Ships, repairing Fortreſſes, eſtabliſhing Manufactures, and embroiling foreign Courts, that he might carry on his own Schemes without Interruption. As to the *Italian* Princes, they had all the reaſon in the world to be ſatisfied with him, for he was in reality more their Miniſter than the King of *Spain*'s. His great View was to free *Italy* from the Terrour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. To effect this, he reſolved to eſtabliſh the Right of Succeſſion to *Parma* and *Placentia*, and even

even to the Dukedom of *Tuſcany*, in the Deſcendants of the Queen of *Spain*. He projected the Conqueſt of *Sardinia* and *Sicily* by force of Arms; after which *Naples* was to follow, and what elſe we know not. But in the courſe of his Enterprizes, it is certain, that he ſtript the Emperor of *Sardinia*, before any body was aware of it, and that he afterwards duped the King of *Sicily*, by a feigned Negotiation for the Exchange of that Kingdom for *Naples*, while he prepared all things for the Conqueſt of that Iſland, which he well nigh effected.

As the expected Succeſs of the Cardinal's Deſigns could reſult from nothing but their being well concealed, one need not wonder ſo much as many have done at the Maxims purſued by this great Miniſter; neither ought the indefinite Marks of Reſpect, which were paid him by all Degrees of People, to be ſtampt with ſo harſh an Epithet, as that of ſervile Dependance. His Eminence had the good luck, not only to perſuade their Majeſties, but alſo ſome of the moſt intelligent Perſons in *Spain* that he had nothing in view but the reſtoring the Monarchy to that Glory from which it had fallen, ſince the days of *Philip* II. And it muſt be owned, that his Expreſſions were not at all too big for his Actions. *Spain*, during his Adminiſtration, wore a new face, and in the ſpace of a few Months, from being the moſt dejected, became the moſt conſidered Court in *Europe*. Money circulated every where, there ſprung up an Appearance of Trade and Buſineſs, where it had never been heard of; the Government employ'd a multitude of Perſons in ſeveral kinds of work, and paid them generouſly and punctually. If he fitted out Fleets, they were not for Shew; if he raiſed Money on the People, the meaneſt of the People knew how it was employ'd. Can one wonder after this at the Submiſſion paid to *Alberoni*, whoſe Birth was ſo far from being a Diſ-

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grace to the Honours he had received, that his Abilities ſeemed to efface both the Memory of it and of his Honours ; for he appeared to govern rather in right of his ſuperiour Genius, than from the Favour of Fortune.

But tho' he was the *Primum Mobile* in *Spain*, and reſerved within his own Breaſt the great Secrets of Government, yet he did not diſcover any fear of Men of Parts, or pretend to ſprinkle the Courts of *Europe* with Blockheads of his own chuſing. No! he continued in their Offices all ſuch Miniſters as he thought were equal to them. The Baron *de Ripperda* he found in great Confidence with their Majeſties, and by degrees he took him into his. He knew him to be a Man of quick Parts, and the moſt capable of conceiving and expreſſing the niceſt Points of Politicks of any Man of his Age. He had a proper Reſpect for the ſolid Capacity of the Marquis *de Grimaldi*, who ſpoke in Sentences, and whoſe Opinion, when he thought fit to give it, was very juſtly honoured. When therefore the Cardinal reſolved to carry any thing into Action, he firſt conſulted the Marquis *de Grimaldi*, and having had his Approbation, he employ'd *Ripperda* in the actual Execution thereof. The Prince *de Cellamere* he found Miniſter at the *French* Court, and he left him there, tho' he was the Nephew of his Predeceſſor whom he had treated but indifferently after his Diſgrace. He confided in the Marquis *Beretti Landi*, tho' he was no Creature of his, and made uſe of the *Duke de Monteleon* at the Court of *Great Britain*, meerly becauſe he was a very capable Perſon. Let us now ſee how the Enemies of *Spain* and of *Alberoni*, contrived to defeat the great Deſigns formed by this enzing Eccleſiaſtick in that Kingdom.

The Emperor, who notwithſtanding the Neceſſity of his Affairs had obliged him to abandon the Poſſeſſion, ſtill kept the Title, and looked upon him-

ſelf as the rightful Owner of the Crown of *Spain*; never ſuffered the Affairs of that Country to loſe the firſt Place in his Thoughts. He had left a conſiderable Body of Troops in *Sardinia*, under the Command of the Marquis *de Rubi*, one of the Chiefs of the *Catalans*, who had found means to make his Eſcape when *Barcelona* was ſurrender'd. His Imperial Majeſty kept alſo a great Army in *Italy*, where he terrify'd the Duke of *Parma* to ſuch a degree, that he requeſted the Pope to ſet up his Standard in his Capital, in order to cover him a little from the *Auſtrian* Reſentment. After the Reduction of *Sardinia*, the Emperor kept no Meaſures with the Pope, but, by his Miniſter Count *Gallas*, demanded from him ſuch Conceſſions as were altogether inconſiſtent with the Right he pretended to have to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and after the great Victories obtained by *Prince Eugene* over the *Turks*, the aforeſaid Miniſter inſiſted, that the Pope ſhould take from *Alberoni* the Cap he had given him, on pretence that he had drawn the King of *Spain* into a Treaty with the *Turk*, which, it was ſaid, was negotiated by the *Prince de Cellamere*. But this could never be made out, tho' the *German* Miniſter ſo inſulted the Holy Father thereupon, that he burſt out into Tears. When Matters came to a Criſis, the Emperor remained firm, and relying on his own Strength, declared he would hear of no Treaty, nor ſubmit to any Mediation till *Sardinia* was reſtored, and Cardinal *Alberoni* diſgraced.

George I. King of *Great Britain*, appeared from his aſcending that Throne a Prince to whom Fortune had given nothing more than he deſerved. Some warm People expected, that he would have relinquiſhed the Peace of *Utrecht*; but his Majeſty was better adviſed, and reſolved, if poſſible, to keep both his People and his Neighbours quiet. With this view, he entered into very ſtrict Alliances with

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the *Emperor* and with *France*. When *Alberoni*'s Projects began to take effect, he inſtantly concerted Meaſures for maintaining the Balance of Power in *Europe*; or rather for ſupporting a certain Syſtem; which himſelf and his Allies thought neceſſary for the Preſervation of the publick Tranquillity; and after the Conqueſt of *Sardinia*, he expreſsly declared, that he ſhould think himſelf obliged to aſſiſt the Emperor, in caſe any Attempt was made on his *Italian* Dominions, which in all probability ſaved *Naples*; not that his *Britannick* Majeſty intended to abandon *Sardinia* to *Spain*, but by ſtopping her Proceedings for the preſent, to gain time for a Negotiation; which he ſoon after ſet on foot for a general Pacification.

The Duke of *Orleans*, who under the Title of Regent governed the Kingdom of *France*, as abſolutely at leaſt as any of her Princes had ever done, and who had prodigious Deſigns in view, ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of cultivating a ſtrict Friendſhip with *Great Britain*, and alſo of watching over the Deſigns of *Spain*, where he knew that neither their Majeſties nor their Miniſter's Deſigns were favourable to him; and therefore he took ſuch ſteps, as to him ſeemed moſt adviſeable, without conſulting at all the Miniſtry of *Spain*. In this Diſpoſition, he ſent the *Abbé du Bois* into *England*, to regulate there the Expedients which ſhould be found neceſſary for preſerving the Peace of *Europe*, and in conſequence of whoſe Negotiations the Quadruple Alliance was afterwards formed.

As for their High Mightineſſes the States-General, they conſulted on this, as on all other Occaſions, the Welfare of their Conſtituents; that is to ſay, they heard all Parties, confer'd with all Parties, and did all in their Power to be upon good Terms with all Parties. Their Intereſt and their Inclinations led them to wiſh well to the Projects of *Great Britain* and *France*; but as they ſaw that

the Execution of thoſe Projects might poſſibly embaraſs their Trade, tho' they gave very good words to the *Imperial*, *Britiſh*, and *French* Miniſters, yet they gave no ill ones to the *Spaniſh* Miniſter, by which, at a juncture when the greateſt Powers carried their points but in part, the States might juſtly boaſt to have ſucceeded in all without hazarding any thing. Their very Miniſter at *Madrid* lived upon good terms, and even in Intimacy with the Baron *de Ripperda*, who, whatever his Enemies might ſay of him, did never forget the Place of his Nativity, or its Intereſt. But as theſe Intrigues could not be carried on without being known to ſo penetrating a Miniſter as the Cardinal, we ought next to conſider the Methods made uſe of by him to defeat theſe Contrivances.

As to the *Emperor*, *Alberoni* either looked upon his Averſion as ſo reaſonably founded, or elſe conceived it to be ſo thoroughly rooted, that he never oppoſed any thing to it but Force. Born as he was a Subject to the Duke of *Parma*, and living ſo many Years in the Service of the Duke *de Vendome*, he had acquired an Averſion to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which he ſanctified with the all-attoning Name of Love for his Country. As to any Intercourſe with the *Turk*, as there was no Evidence of it, he ought to ſtand acquitted. Beſides, he certainly influenced the King of *Spain* to ſend a Squadron to the Relief of *Corfu*, which the Cardinal *del Giudice* would have ſent againſt the Pope, tho' he was cry'd up as a Saint by thoſe who cried out againſt *Alberoni* as a Devil. At firſt, the Cardinal thought of careſſing the *Engliſh* Nation, and of ſecuring their Friendſhip, by favouring their Trade. His Knowledge of the Intereſt of *Great Britain* induced him to hope, by good Offices and enlarging the Commerce of her Subjects, to bring her to his Terms. As a trading Nation he had much to offer her, and this without Prejudice to *Spain*, whoſe People were

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more inclined to deal with the *Engliſh* than any body elſe. His Correſpondence with our Miniſter contributed to his forming theſe Notions, of which he was very tenacious. But diſcovering their Ingagements with the Emperor, and being fully informed by a Spy he had at *Hanover*, of all things done by King *George* while he reſided there, he determined to take another Courſe, and with that view fell to intriguing with the Courts of *Muſcovy* and *Sweden*, whom he ſought to ingage in the Intereſt of the *Chevalier de St. George*, while he projected alſo an Invaſion from *Spain*. He likewiſe contrived a Method for employing the *Regent* ſo effectually at home, that he would have had no opportunity of looking abroad. With this view, he perſuaded the *Catholick King* to take the Title of *Regent* of *France*, influenced many of the *French* Nobility to oppoſe the Regent's Deſigns, and at length engaged a great Prince of the Blood to enter into his Meaſures. His chief Agents in this extraordinary Buſineſs were the *Prince de Cellamere*, and the *Abbot de Portocarrero*; the ſole Perſon truſted in *Spain* was the Baron *de Ripperda*, who drew all the Papers, which were ſent from time to time to the Prince *de Cellamere*. As to the *Dutch*, the Marquis *de Beretti Landi* was inſtructed to magnify the Advantages they might receive from their living upon good Terms with *Spain*, and the mighty hazard their Trade would run in caſe of a Rupture. Theſe were the Methods this great Man imploy'd to baffle the greateſt Powers, and the greateſt Politicians in *Europe*; and by the Dint of his Genius, he in reality created ſuch Difficulties to the Enemies of his Maſter, and ſo alarmed them with the Apprehenſions of unforeſeen Miſchiefs of his inducing, that they were more ſollicitous to procure his Removal from the Councils of *Spain*, than they were to carry on the War, which was ready to break out, with Succeſs.

To ſay the truth, they had very juſt Reaſon to be extremely apprehenſive of this intriguing Prieſt. For nothing is more certain, than that Providence only prevented both *Great Britain* and *France* from being plunged into all the Miſeries of Civil War, in conſequence of his Contrivances. It is generally thought, that the firſt Diſcovery of the Deſigns concerted againſt the Regent, were made in *England* by means of ſome who were taken up for endeavouring to raiſe a Rebellion there. His *Britannick Majeſty* having given notice to the *Duke* of *Orleans* of what was ſuſpected, his Royal Highneſs was amazed thereat, the Prince *de Cellamere* having ſuch an Intereſt with him, as had engaged him to ſend Orders to the *Abbé du Bois* to avoid for ſome time acquieſcing under the Meaſures taken by the Court of *Great Britain*. On the back of this Information, the *Abbot de Portocarrero* was arreſted, as he returned into *Spain*, on meer Suſpicion, becauſe he hazarded his Life to ſave his Cloak-Bag, which by the overturning of the Chaiſe, fell into the River. The Diſpatches in that Cloak-Bag diſcovered the whole Secret of the *French* Conſpiracy, which was of ſuch a nature, that it ſtruck all the World with Terrour. There was not only a Rebellion to have been raiſed, but regular Forces were actually introduced into the Kingdom, and even into the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, no body knew how. The Regent was to have been ſeized, and carried Priſoner into *Spain*, and the whole Face of the Government to be changed. On this Diſcovery the Prince *de Cellamere* was invited to an Audience, where he was ſecured, his Papers being ſeized in the mean time. It then appear'd, that the Cardinal's Intrigues were ſtill more dangerous than they had ever been apprehended, becauſe there were found amongſt them Addreſſes from the Nobility and Clergy of *France* to King *Philip*; ſetting forth the diſtreſt Condition in which they were, the oppreſſive Adminiſtration

of

of the Regent, and the Fears they were under for the King's Safety; beſeeching him not to forget the Tenderneſs due to his native Country, but to exert the Force of *Spain* to ſave *France*; which, by exerting her utmoſt Force, had ſeated him on the Throne of *Spain*. The Duke of *Orleans* treated theſe Papers as Fictions and Forgeries, tho' he knew very well they were genuine; however, he had the Army at his devotion, and therefore without farther heſitation, he declared War againſt *Spain*, and made Preparations for invading it.

But the Powers allied with the *Emperor*, could not be charged with breaking abruptly with that Court; on the contrary, they made uſe of all Methods poſſible to induce his Catholick Majeſty to be ſatisfied with the Terms ſtipulated for him. Theſe were at firſt but very indifferent; but by the Interpoſition of the *Regent*, who did not forget either his Relation to the King of *Spain*, or the Intereſt of *France*, in ſupporting that Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, they were brought to be ſo advantageous, that it was with great Difficulty the Cardinal-Miniſter prevail'd on his Maſter to reject them. It deſerves ſome Inquiry as to the Motives which induced his Eminence to take a ſtep ſo viſibly oppoſite to his own Intereſt; for had he fix'd the Affairs of *Spain* at that time on a firm Baſis, it might moſt certainly have preſerved his own Power much longer. Now the true Reaſon of this was, his conceiving himſelf ſecure of carrying his whole Scheme into Execution, and thereby exalting the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, which he governed abſolutely, to that envied Point of Greatneſs, in which it ſtood at the Death of *Charles* V. He knew his Imperial Majeſty had no maritime Force, and therefore he deſpiſed his Threatnings; he reckoned on it as a thing certain, that the States would never hazard their great Trade with *Spain* and the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, by any ſudden or vigorous Reſolution; and he per-

ſuaded himſelf, that neither *Great Britain* nor *France* would actually make War on *Spain*, if the Emperor's Dominions were not attacked. Theſe Notions led him to conclude, that *Sicily* might be reduced without a War, becauſe at this time it belong'd to the Duke of *Savoy*; and his Deſign of reducing it was not known, or ſo much as ſuſpected in *France*, *Britain*, or *Holland*. But what he chiefly reckon'd upon was an Alliance he had negotiated with certain Princes, which hitherto have not been, nor are yet proper to name. His rejecting the Propoſals of Peace, and ſending a Fleet to invade *Sicily*, brought things to extremity, of which we are next to ſee the Iſſue.

The Emperor gained ſuch an Aſcendancy over his Allies, that it was not only ſtipulated to preſerve for him all the Dominions he at that time poſſeſſed in *Italy*, but alſo to procure for him the Reſtitution of *Sardinia*, and the Exchange of that Iſland for *Sicily*. *France*, under the Direction of the Regent, concurr'd heartily in compelling King *Philip* to accept of the Terms preſcribed to him by the Quadruple Alliance. The King of *Great Britain* ſent a ſtrong Fleet, under the Command of Sir *George Byng*, into the *Mediterranean*, with Inſtructions to mediate by fair means, or by foul; which Method of negotiating ſeeming new to the Cardinal, overturned all his Schemes, and as he roſe by unexpected Succeſſes, he fell by an unexpected Blow.

By the Diſcovery of the Plot in *France*, the Cardinal's Courage was ſhaken. For tho' he ſtruggled afterwards, in hopes of ſtill bringing Matters to bear in that Kingdom, yet it was rather to ſhew he was reſolved not to go back, than out of any hopes of being able to go forward. The Deſtruction of the *Spaniſh* Fleet by Sir *George Byng*, ſhewed the naval Force of *Spain* to be but a Phantom, and the tranſporting Imperial Troops into *Sicily* by the ſame Admiral,

Admiral, deſtroy'd the Expectations that had been conceived of the ſpeedy Reduction of that Iſland. The quick Progreſs of the *French* Army which entered *Spain* by Land, and the incredible Miſchiefs done, both by the *Engliſh* and *French*, in the Sea-ports, and the vaniſhing of that ſecret Alliance, which ſwallowed up vaſt Sums, without producing any thing, overwhelm'd the Fortune of *Alberoni*, tho' it neither broke his Spirits, nor engaged him to abandon his Deſigns, or ſubmit to thoſe Conditions, which the greateſt Powers in *Europe* had bound themſelves by Treaty to make the Rule of *Europe*'s Repoſe. It was the Regent who found a way to deſtroy him with their Catholick Majeſties, and he did this notwithſtanding all the Efforts made by the Czar *Peter* I. to hinder him from concurring with his *Britannick* Majeſty. For that reſtleſs and ambitious Monarch, charm'd with the Boldneſs of *Alberoni*'s Projects, had really a mind to have ſtruck in with them, and to have given a new Turn to all things. But the Regent would not liſten to the Repreſentations made by the *Ruſſian* Miniſter, but proſecuted his own Scheme with effect.

On the 5th of *December*, 1719, Cardinal *Alberoni* received Orders to appear no more in any Councils, not to enter the Royal Preſence, or that of any of the Royal Infants, to leave *Madrid* in eight Days, and the Dominions of *Spain* in three Weeks. Which Order his Majeſty ſignified to be a neceſſary Act, for removing the grand Obſtacle to a general Peace. The Cardinal obey'd this Order, and had the Courage to paſs through *France* in his way to *Italy*, whither it is not our buſineſs to accompany him. On the 17th of *February* following, the Marquis *de Beretti Landi* ſigned the Quadruple Alliance, which entirely ſubverted the Cardinal's Syſtem, and gave a new face to the Affairs of *Europe*.

The Conditions of Peace granted to *Spain* by the Quadruple Alliance need not be mention'd; but

thoſe demanded by *Spain* were briefly theſe: 1. All the Places taken from the Crown of *Spain*, either in *Europe* or *America*, ſhall be reſtored. 2. His Catholick Majeſty ſhall be at full liberty to tranſport his Forces, Artillery, *&c.* from *Sicily* into *Spain*. 3. All the Men of War and Galleys, taken on the 11th of *Auguſt*, 1718, ſhall be reſtored, as ſhall alſo a certain Veſſel, belonging to his Catholick Majeſty, ſeized in the Port of *Breſt*. 4. That the Ceſſion of *Sicily*, in favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſhall be on the ſame Terms as the Ceſſion made to the Duke of *Savoy*; that is, with a Reſervation of his Catholick Majeſty's Right, in caſe of a Failure of Male-Iſſue. 5. That **** and **** ſhall be reſtored to *Spain*. 6. That *Orbitello*, *Porto Hercole*, and their Dependencies be reſtored to *Spain*. 7. That the Right of Succeſſion to the Duchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, ſhall be ſecured to the Heirs Male of the Queen of *Spain*, and ſome other Articles of leſs Importance. By theſe Demands (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) *Spain* hath always regulated her future Views.

It ought to be remarked, that in this Settlement of Affairs the *Engliſh* not only treated but acted, and yet after they were victorious, not only conſented to reſtore the Ships taken at *Meſſina*, but alſo gave way to ſome kind of Promiſe or Engagement, which has been inſiſted on ever ſince. Whereas the States-General, tho' they were at firſt Nominal Parties, and at length acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, yet did nothing againſt *Spain*, but had the honour of perſuading his Catholick Majeſty to accept of Peace, as appears by a Letter under his own hand, dated at *Madrid*, *January* 4, 1720, wherein he expreſſes himſelf towards them with all the marks of cordial Love and Affection poſſible. I ſay, theſe Circumſtances ought to be remark'd, becauſe things have gone on ever ſince in the ſame Train; that is, we have made continual Conceſſions

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to *Spain*, yet *Spain* has remained continually diſſatisfied with us, and the *French* and *Dutch* have made their Advantages of this Diſſatisfaction: Tho' it does not appear that either of them is ſo natural an Ally to *Spain* as *Great Britain*, nor were ever conſider'd as ſuch by the *Spaniards* themſelves, till within theſe twenty Years.

We have now done for the preſent with the Affairs of *Europe*, in the Conduct of which the Baron *de Ripperda*, tho' he had appear'd but little, had a large Concern. By the Ruin of Cardinal *Alberoni* he ſaw himſelf entirely loſt at Court; for the Marquis *de Grimaldi*, who in conjunction with M. *de la Paz*, and M. *Patinho*, came to have the Direction of Affairs, was in his Nature ſlow and cautious, little affected from the beginning towards *Ripperda*, and glad of this Occaſion to mortify a Man whom he look'd upon as a Creature of *Alberoni*'s. In this Situation M. *de Ripperda* acted better than could have been expected from a Man ſo long uſed to Courts. He ſubmitted to the Will of Providence without murmuring, he ſupported that ſhare of Coldneſs which is always ſhewn towards unlucky Politicians, not only with great firmneſs, but with an indifference, which ſhew'd that firmneſs did not coſt him dear. In a word, he retired eaſily and with a ſeeming chearfulneſs, from the hurry of a Palace to the quiet of a Country Retreat; and he did it with ſo good a Grace, that many who knew him well thought there was more in it of choice than conſtraint. As we have no Intention to make a *Hero* of him of whom we are ſpeaking, we ſhall very readily own, that thoſe who made ſuch conjectures were not at all miſtaken. For notwithſtanding the Baron injoyed the Cardinal Miniſter's Favour and made large Advantages thereby, yet beſides the pain and perplexity attending the Affairs in which he was engaged, he ſuffered ſo much from the Haughtineſs, unforeſeen Heats, cauſeleſs Jealouſies

louſies and outragious Tranſports of *Alberoni*, that to a Man of the Baron's Spirit and polite Diſpoſition, there could not be a Life more uneaſy than that he led. Beſides, after his Eminence retired to *Italy*, and even for ſome Weeks before, the People at *Madrid* were in a manner diſtracted: For as they were continually receiving Expreſſes with ill News, and as every Tradeſman in *Madrid* is a profound Politician, ſo the confuſion encreaſed hourly, and according to the *Spaniſh* Loyalty, the Curſes which never aſcend to the Throne, fell by a ſide Wind upon all who had been Friends to the Miniſtry. It is the Cuſtom at *Madrid* for the meaneſt Tradeſmen to give their Sentiments on State Affairs, and as they are a thinking ſhrewd People, it is not to be conceived how quick they are in their gueſſes, and what extraordinary Judgments they form of things. Neither does the dread of miniſterial Spies, or the vicinity of the Royal Palace, hinder them from ſpeaking their Sentiments freely and openly: The common Cry under the King's Apartments in ſuch times being, Long live our Sovereign, but may the wicked Miniſtry periſh. Theſe Circumſtances taken together, might well induce M. *de Ripperda* to think that the loſs of Favour was balanced by his Safety, and the Splendor he had hitherto lived in well exchanged for the Peace and Quiet of a rural Retreat.

The Baron, in quality of Director of the Manufactures of *Spain*, had ſtill an Employment, but in as much as thoſe Manufactures were entirely at a ſtand, he had the Name of an Employment only, without having any thing to do. He withdrew therefore to a Seat he had at *Segovia*, where he lived more like a Philoſopher, or a Man weary of the World, than a Politician, or one who had ſtill any Remains of Ambition. As for Madam *Ripperda*, ſhe was ſo far from regretting, that ſhe was perfectly charmed with the Change of their Affairs. She loved her

her Huſband, was extremely fond of her Children, and managed her Family with great Prudence and Œconomy. It was with regret, ſhe ſaw her Huſband entirely taken up with Politics, and either penſively muſing on Schemes, as yet half formed, or exceſſively hurried in the execution of ſuch as had received the neceſſary Approbations. His eldeſt Son's Education furniſhed a rational, as well as ſufficient Employment for the Baron, who ſpent his leiſure Moments in Converſation with the Jeſuits, in whom he always confided. As for Madam *de Ripperda*, when her Family-Concerns allowed her any Relaxation, a neighbouring Convent furniſhed her with Means of improving herſelf in Acts of Religion and Piety, which ſhe much affected. Thus the time paſt away pleaſantly at leaſt, if not with Eclât; and if their Imaginations were not occupied by the fine Proſpects, afforded by Hope, they were at leaſt free from all Apprehenſions, and injoyed what the Great never injoy, the Abſence of Fear. But this Scene did not laſt very long, it changed to one more gaudy, tho' not more happy; however, without any Motion made by the Baron, beyond his Expectation, nay indeed without his Knowledge.

While the Baron was entirely occupied with his domeſtic Concerns, he was ſurprized with an Order from the King, to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to procure Workmen of all ſorts, for the carrying on the Manufactures of which he had the Direction. He did not heſitate at all in paying that Obedience which was due to his Majeſty's Commands, but immediately prepared for his Return to *Madrid*, very little to Madam *de Ripperda*'s Satisfaction. On his Arrival, he went to pay his Court to their Majeſties, and met with a very open as well as gracious Reception. The King ſpoke to him with all his uſual Kindneſs; the Queen at firſt look'd on him a little coldly, but after having reproached

him

him with leaving the Court abruptly, living entirely in the Country, and abandoning as it were all Care of the Publick, ſhe entertained him very familiarly, and with much Reſpect. M. *de Ripperda* thank'd her Majeſty in the moſt expreſſive Terms, for the ſeextraordinary and moſt unexpected Marks of her Goodneſs. He aſſured her, that his Retreat into the Country was not mixt with any Diſguſt, and that his abſtaining from Court, was meerly to avoid being troubleſome to their Majeſties, when it did not appear to him that he could be any longer ſerviceable to them. It was the King himſelf, who informed M. *de Ripperda* of the Nature of that Commiſſion with which he intended to charge him. A Commiſſion arduous in itſelf, and yet ſeemingly of leſs conſequence than thoſe in which hitherto the Baron had been imployed. However, like a true Courtier, he ſtifled all his Reſentments, and undertook, with a ſeemingly good Grace, a Journey into *France*, which he would have avoided had it been in his power.

It is not certain, who adviſed the ſending into *France* for woollen Manufacturers; but we may be poſitive, it was not the Duke *de Ripperda*, who underſtood thoſe things much too well to believe, that it was either profitable to ſettle *French* Workmen in *Spain*, or, if it had been ſo, that it was poſſible to get them out of their own Country. It was however his Duty to diſcharge his Commiſſion, which he did with all the Diligence imaginable, but with a Succeſs no way ſuited to his pains; for after traverſing all *France*, he found it impoſſible to engage ſo much as a ſingle Workman. Vexed at this Diſappointment, and fully reſolved not to return into *Spain*, without performing effectually the Commiſſion with which he was charged, he continued his Journey to *Holland*, where he knew there was a greater probability of finding Workmen, as well as a much greater Facility in tranſporting

porting them into *Spain*. His Friends in *Holland* were charmed with his Return; they came and paid their Compliments to him with all the Warmth and Affection that could have been expected, if he had been cloathed with ever ſo high a Character, or if he had already worn thoſe Honours, with which he was afterwards adorned; they felicitated him on the Confidence repoſed in him by the Court of *Spain*; they expreſſed their Satisfaction as to the Services he had done his Country, but in regard to his Religion they were wholly ſilent; they ſaw he either was, or affected to be thought a very devout Papiſt, and therefore they knew, that however tenderly they might touch the Subject, it could not but be diſagreeable.

While the Baron *de Ripperda* was negotiating in *Holland*, his Affairs were in but an odd Train in *Spain*. Madam *de Ripperda*, who placed her whole Felicity in keeping her Huſband to herſelf, and who was never ſo well pleaſed as when he had no Buſineſs at Court, lamented his Abſence paſſionately ſo long as he continued in *France*; but when once ſhe knew that he was arrived at the *Hague*, ſhe loſt all Patience, ſuppoſing that the many Friends he had in the *United Provinces* might influence him to remain there; and ſuch an Averſion had ſhe conceived againſt her Country, that ſhe was more terrified for this Event, than for the News of his Death. The Expreſſions of her Concern, which might perhaps be a little too vehement, were not very ſerviceable to her Huſband; but on the contrary, ſerved to give credit to ſome Reports which were much to his diſadvantage. Envy is always an Attendant on Merit, and it was impoſſible for M. *de Ripperda*, who had ſo much of the latter, not to feel ſometimes the Effects of the former, eſpecially when he had moſt Credit at Court. But his Enemies, watchful and malicious as they were, never had ſo fair an Opportunity of ſtabbing his Cha-

racter,

racter, as while he reſided in *Holland*. They knew he had failed in his Expectations, or rather in anſwering the Expectations of the Court by his Tranſactions in *France*; and therefore they did not fail to repreſent his Journey to the *Hague*, as a Deſertion of his *Catholick Majeſty's* Service, and they even ſcrupled not to advance a multitude of their own ill-natur'd and ill-grounded Suſpicions, as if they had been written to them by their Correſpondents in the *Low Countries*: which Artifices had in part the Effect they deſired, the raiſing a Diffidence in the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry of the Fidelity of their Agent.

But while theſe Intrigues were at the greateſt height, and thoſe who carried them on had the moſt ſanguine Expectations, a Ship arrived at *Cadiz* with fifty Manufacturers on board, whom the Baron *de Ripperda* had drawn together in *Holland*, and with them came ſuch a Memorial of the Pains he had taken, and of the Iſſue of his Inquiries, as to the Method of eſtabliſhing and conducting a Woollen Manufacture, as effectually removed all Doubts of his Fidelity, and left his Enemies without a word to ſay. In a ſhort time after, having compleated all that he was ſent to perform, M. *de Ripperda* returned himſelf, and was received, not only by their Majeſties, but by the Miniſtry, with all the Kindneſs imaginable. He ſtood however indebted for part of theſe Favours to the warm Solliciations of certain powerful Friends, and eſpecially thoſe of the *Jeſuits*. As theſe Reverend Fathers had the honour of bringing back the Baron into the Boſom of the Church, as he always honoured them with his Confidence, and ſpent moſt of his leiſure Hours in Converſations with the moſt diſtinguiſhed Perſons of their Order, they conſidered him as a Man devoted to their Intereſts, from whom they might expect all things, and for whom conſequently they could never do too much. As they had a great

great Intereſt in ſome of the Miniſtry, particularly in the Marquis *Grimaldi* and Don *Patinho*, they laboured moſt aſſiduouſly to remove the Prejudices they had conceived againſt *Ripperda*, and herein they ſucceeded ſo perfectly, that, from a great Coldneſs which they had formerly ſhewn towards him, they now began to careſs him, and to give way to that Inclination towards him, which they knew their Majeſties always had. But the Baron *de Ripperda* did not make any quick, or extraordinary Uſe, of theſe new and unexpected Marks of Favour; on the contrary, he retired again to his Houſe at *Segovia*, and gave himſelf up entirely to the Functions of that Office, which had been confer'd upon him. Sometimes indeed, he went to Court, to pay his Compliments to the King and Queen, and to ſhew a profound Reſpect for thoſe who had then the Direction of all things. But he aſked for nothing, he ſeemed to have been never ambitious, or at leaſt he appeared as if he had loſt all his Ambition, if ever he had been infected with it. This Behaviour anſwered his purpoſe perfectly, it confirmed all that the Jeſuits had ſaid of him; and the Miniſtry no longer thought themſelves concerned to oppoſe the Riſe of ſo tractable a Perſon.

From the time of Cardinal *Alberoni*'s Retreat, the Counſels of *Spain* grew apparently cooler, and the other Potentates of *Europe* had no longer thoſe terrible Apprehenſions of the Power of his Catholick Majeſty, which had formerly filled their Minds. The Marquis *de Grimaldi*, and the reſt of the Miniſters, however, were very far from loſing ſight of that Point, which they knew was the great Object of their Majeſties Concern, the ſecuring the eventual Succeſſion of *Parma* and *Tuſcany*, or of neglecting to improve the Commerce of the Nation, on which the reſtoring it to a truly flouriſhing Condition did ſolely depend. But they proſecuted their Schemes after the old *Spaniſh* manner, that is,

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ſlowly and ſteadily. They watched favourable Occaſions, and improved them; they forbore thoſe high Pretenſions, which *Alberoni* always kept on foot; they affected a very ſtrict Correſpondence with the *States-General*; and in fine, by giving good words to all, they made their Uſes of all, without being ſuſpected by any. The Differences between the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* Courts ſtill ſubſiſted, and ſeemed as likely as ever to ſubſiſt. They had both acceded to the *Quadruple Alliance*, and yet neither ſeemed to be well ſatisfied therewith. Each of theſe Princes had plauſible Pretences for the Diſſatisfaction he expreſſed, and it had been the Buſineſs of his *Britannick* Majeſty and the States-General to find out continual Expedients for the preventing theſe Uneaſineſſes from breaking out into an open Rupture. Nor had all the Changes which from the Peace of *Utrecht* had happened in theſe Courts, created any direct Correſpondence between them. At laſt, the Congreſs at *Cambray* was eſtabliſhed for the final Deciſion of their Differences, as well as many others, which had ariſen in *Europe*; and amongſt the reſt, one relating to the *Oſtend* Company, of which, before we proceed farther, it is neceſſary that we ſhould take particular notice.

Soon after the Pacification induced by the Quadruple Alliance, (for conſidering the Differences ſubſiſting between ſeveral Princes, it could not be called a general Peace) his Imperial Majeſty began to entertain a ſtrong Inclination to revive a Spirit of Commerce in ſome Part or other of his Dominions. With this view, he granted conſiderable Privileges to *Trieſte* and *Fiume*, the only Ports he poſſeſſed on the *Adriatick*, and no pains were ſpared in building of Ships, cleanſing the Ports, erecting Piers, and Ware-houſes, with all other Neceſſaries, for eſtabliſhing Trade on this ſide, tho' to very little purpoſe. But as the Purſuits of uſeleſs Projects very often bring Men to ſtumble on important Diſcove-

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ries, which otherwiſe would never have been thought of; ſo this Inclination of the Imperial Court to favour Traffic, induced ſome Perſons of great Diſtinction, to liſten to a Project formed by the Sieur *Colebrook*, for eſtabliſhing an *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*; which, when propoſed to the Court at *Vienna*, met there with a very favourable Reception. When this Scheme came to be carried into execution, it raiſed exceſſive Diſturbances in *Europe*. The maritime Powers conceiv'd themſelves to be highly injured by the erecting of this Company; and they thought the Injury the greater, becauſe the Houſe of *Auſtria* had been put in poſſeſſion of the *Netherlands*, chiefly by the Aſſiſtance of the Maritime Powers. They farther inſiſted, that his Imperial Majeſty poſſeſſed them in virtue of Treaties, which ſettled his Rights, and the Rights of his Subjects on the foot they ſtood in the Days of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, on which foot it was affirmed, the Inhabitants of the *Low Countries* had no Right to carry on a Trade to the *Indies*. On the other hand, the States of *Brabant* made very warm Repreſentations to his Imperial Majeſty in favour of this Commerce, which had ſuch a weight with that Prince and his Council, that they reſolved to ſupport the Company, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition that it met with; alledging, that the Decrees of the Court of *Spain*, in favour of the *Caſtilians* at the Expence of the *Flemings*, ought not to prejudice the latter, now they were become the Subjects of another Crown. This Affair became however every day more and more ſerious. His Catholick Majeſty taking part therein, and remonſtrating as ſharply againſt this new-erected Company, as either of the maritime Powers had done, in fine it was ſubmitted to the Deciſion of the Congreſs before-mentioned; where, after all, the Miniſters wrangled for three Years together, and concluded nothing, which occaſioned infinite Heart-burnings

in more than one Nation. The leſs to be wonder'd at, if we conſider that moſt of the States in *Europe* were at this time in an odd ſtrain of Politicks, ſo far removed from their reſpective Intereſts, that the wiſeſt and oldeſt Politicians knew not what to think of Affairs; nor were ſome of the Plenipotentiaries leſs at a loſs than other People. Time, which is ſaid to diſcover all Things, like able Stateſmen before-mentioned, hath been quite baffled, and Poſterity is like to know as little of the matter as we.

All this time the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry proſecuted their Meaſures ſoftly and ſecurely, with more or leſs Succeſs, according as the Circumſtances of things, and the Views of other Potentates would allow. But by degrees, Cardinal *Alberoni*, who after ſome Perſecution was in high Credit at *Rome*, began to reſume the Direction of *Spaniſh* Affairs; and tho' for the ſaving Appearances he did not interfere openly, yet nothing is more certain, than that he firſt projected that unaccountable, and, as ſome call it, unnatural Alliance between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, which ſo much alarmed all *Europe*. It hath been much doubted, whether the true Motives, which induced their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties to enter into ſo cloſe a Correſpondence, were ever diſcovered. For my part, I do not believe they ever were. To which, I am the rather led, by the received Opinion, that this Alliance was firſt deviſed by the Baron *de Ripperda*. This took riſe, from his having roſe, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, to the higheſt Degree of Favour, in conſequence of his having concluded that Treaty. But after all, there is a great difference between negotiating and projecting an Alliance; and I think I can prove to a Demonſtration, that the Project of that of *Vienna*, was not formed by him. He was, as we have ſeen before, intruſted with the Management of the Manufactures of *Spain*, Reſi-

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dent generally at *Segovia*; and tho' he was certainly much in favour with their Catholick Majeſties, yet he had but a very dependent Intereſt at Court. He was but growing into favour with the Miniſters, with whom, the preſuming to offer ſuch a Project, however grateful to their own Inclinations, would certainly have ruined him. The truth is, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, no Man knew leſs of the new-formed Scheme than he, till he was fixed upon to execute it; how and where it was originally concerted is a Secret, of which we have ſome Knowledge, which we ſhall readily communicate to the Publick, together with the Evidence which induced us to give it credit. We pretend not to have forced into the Cabinets of Princes, or to have turned Corruption upon its Authors, to arrive at the Secrets of Miniſters; we have uſed our utmoſt Diligence in coming at Intelligence, and we are content to deliver it without Oſtentation.

Among the *Spaniards*, who followed the Fortunes of King *Charles* III. there was one Father *Alvaro Cienfugos*, a Jeſuit, born in the Principality of *Aſturias*. He was a Man of Parts and Learning, as appeared from a great Work he compoſed on the Myſtery of the Trinity; nor had he given himſelf ſo much up to the Study of Divinity, as to want other Accompliſhments. He was a ſound Politician, one who acted on true and ſolid Maxims, and not upon thoſe chimerical Flights of Fancy, which are apt to lead Men of quick Imaginations aſtray. He always retained a deep Senſe of the Duty he owed his Country as well as a warm and vigorous Loyalty towards the Prince, whoſe Party he had embraced. So many ſhining Qualities rendered him very conſiderable in the Imperial Court; and though it was not without ſome difficulty ariſing from the Book before-mention'd, yet a Cardinal's Cap was obtained for him; and in the Summer of 1722, he was charged with his *Imperial Ma-*

jesty's Affairs at the Court of *Rome*, at the same time that he had a very rich Bishoprick given him in *Sicily*. This sage Ecclesiastick, conceiving the Differences between the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Courts to be equally detrimental to both, conferred with Cardinal *Alberoni*, on the Means of removing them effectually. His Eminence, who had lost somewhat of that heat, which appeared in his Temper, while he had the Direction of the Affairs at the Court of *Madrid*, listned readily to these Proposals, and the Heads of a Treaty being concerted between these two great Politicians, they were transmitted to the *Spanish* Ministry, who were desired to find out a proper Person to negotiate this Affair at *Vienna*; one, who might be capable of acting up to the Spirit of the Plan proposed, and the Fruitfulness of whose Imagination might enable him, without recurring to *Madrid* for Instructions to obviate the many and great Difficulties, which would necessarily occur in the conducting such an Affair.

When this Scheme came to be deliberated in the *Spanish* Councils, the Design of it was highly approved; but when the Character of the Person, who was to negotiate it, came under Consideration, all who were present seemed to be at their Wit's end. They ran over presently the List of such Persons, as might with any colour of Justice pretend to this Imployment, but little to their Satisfaction. One wanted Age, another Capacity, a third Experience, a fourth Prudence, a fifth the Talent of Secrecy. In short, every one that was named appeared deficient in something, till the King mention'd the Baron *de Ripperda*, of whom as no body had thought, so when he was thought of, no body offered any Exception. Some have suspected, and perhaps it might be so, that *Alberoni* mentioned him at the same time that he sent the Plan; but of this there is no Evidence. All we know is, that he had been at Court that very day

day before the Council was held, and was returned to his Houſe at *Segovia*, whither a Meſſenger was diſpatched to require his immediate Attendance at the Palace. The Reaſon of this mighty haſte, was the Hopes that the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry conceived of making a very advantagious Treaty with his Imperial Majeſty, provided they were expeditious, and did not leave too much time to the Maritime Powers, either to expoſe the Nature of their Deſigns, or to prepoſſeſs the Court of *Vienna* with Propoſals of another ſort.

The Baron *de Ripperda* ſo little expected any farther Favour from the Court, and was ſo far from having the leaſt Intelligence of the Scheme on foot, that when the Meſſenger arrived at *Segovia*, and acquainted him with the peremptory Orders with which he was charged, the Baron was not a little ſurprized. Nay, it is ſaid, his Confuſion was ſo great, that he acquainted Madam *de Ripperda* with the Cauſe of it, which was a thing very rare with him. This ſerved only to increaſe his Perplexity; for the Lady knowing his Intimacy with the diſgraced Cardinal, immediately figured to herſelf ſome grievous Accuſation, and carried her Conjectures ſo far, as to oblige the Baron to think of conſoling her inſtead of recollecting himſelf. On the whole, Obedience however ſeemed the firſt and moſt rational Step; and therefore making himſelf as eaſy as he could, he ſet out inſtantly for *Madrid*, and repaired to Court the very moment he arrived. An Audience was preſently granted him, at which the King and Queen receiv'd him with unuſual Marks of Favour; and after ſome general Diſcourſe, their Majeſties were pleaſed to acquaint him, that they had caſt their eyes on him to go Ambaſſador to his Imperial Majeſty, in order to ſettle effectually thoſe Difficulties which had ſo long embaraſſed *Spain* and all *Europe*. They likewiſe informed him, that the Secretary of State

would acquaint him fully with the Scope of this Negotiation; and that tho' they knew well many Difficulties would attend it, yet they hoped all things from his Fidelity, Diligence, and great Abilities. The Baron on his ſide made the moſt humble Acknowledgments for this unexpected Favour; he obſerved, that it was the more ſo, becauſe hitherto he had been able to do nothing which could reaſonably entitle him to ſo great a Truſt, that he would do his utmoſt to make a juſt, honourable, and ſolid Peace; and that in caſe all he could do, ſhould fall ſhort of his Intentions, he would however give ſuch ſignal Proofs of his Zeal, as ſhould fully juſtify their Catholick Majeſties Choice of him. After he withdrew from this Audience, he had a long Conference with the Secretary, at the Cloſe of which, he promiſed to make all imaginable Diſpatch, as well in providing for his Journey, as in bringing things to an Iſſue, when he ſhould arrive at *Vienna*.

As ſoon as the News became publick, that the Baron *de Ripperda* was choſen to go Ambaſſador to his Imperial Majeſty, Men expreſſed themſelves, as the Cuſtom is at *Madrid*, freely and variouſly upon the matter. Some ſaid, it was ſtrange that the Miniſtry ſhould not be able to find a *Spaniard* fit to be entruſted with ſo important an Affair. That even amongſt the Strangers, who were already introduced into the *Spaniſh* Councils, there were ſeveral ſuperiour in Rank to the Baron *de Ripperda*, who had been as yet never entruſted farther than to direct a feeble Manufacture, and to collect Workmen for it, who hitherto had not performed any thing extraordinary. Others however conceived great Hopes of the Negotiation, from the Choice made of the Ambaſſador. They knew the Capacity, and above all the inſinuating Temper of *Ripperda*, his Love of Magnificence, and his Contempt of Money; Qualities which render'd him extremely fit

fit to deal with the *Germans.* They therefore went without Reluctance to compliment him, to wiſh him a good Journey, and all imaginable Succeſs in his Deſigns.

When his Inſtructions were once delivered to him, the Baron *de Ripperda* made no longer any Delay, his Baggage was already put in order, and in three days after he ſet out for *Vienna,* carrying with him his Son, who, tho' he was then a Child, was ſoon after a Miniſter. The Baron, who had been all his Life-long afflicted with the Gout, never felt it more ſeverely than in this Journey, which retarded him very much, and conſequently gave him a very ſenſible Uneaſineſs. At length however he arrived at *Vienna*, where he was received with all imaginable Marks of Deference and Reſpect, notwithſtanding it was agreed the Baron ſhould not make a publick Entry before the Duke *de Richelieu* ſet out for *Paris*, which was daily expected ; becauſe it was foreſeen, that acting otherwiſe might give Offence to the *French* Court: However, this Precaution was uſeleſs, the Duke remaining ſtill at *Vienna*, on purpoſe to watch the Motions of the Baron *de Ripperda.* All *Europe* was alarmed at this extraordinary and unexpected Step ; yet many intelligent People were of opinion, that the Baron *de Ripperda*'s Negotiation would be fruitleſs, ſince they could not comprehend how thoſe Diſputes, which had for many Years embaraſſed all *Europe*, and were rather heightened than compoſed by the Congreſs at *Cambray*, ſhould be terminated on a ſudden, in a few Conferences at *Vienna.* But the more penetrating Politicians apprehended, that the moſt material Points had been regulated elſewhere, and that the King of *Spain* would never have conſented to have ſent a Miniſter to the Imperial Court, to waſte time in fruitleſs Negotiations ; and they were thoroughly confirmed in this when it came to be known, that the Em-

peror had named *Prince Eugene* of *Savoy*, *Count Sinzendorf*, and *Gundaccar Count Starhenberg* to confer with him.

There is no neceſſity for our entering into a minute Detail of all that paſt in the Negotiations between the Baron *de Ripperda* and the Emperor's Commiſſioners; it is ſufficient to ſay, that to the Surprize of all the World, and in ſpight of all the Methods taken to prevent it, the Baron concluded and ſigned four Treaties, whereby all the Diſputes which had ſo long ſubſiſted between their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties, were not only taken away entirely and for ever, but ſuch a Harmony was alſo eſtabliſhed between them, as alarmed ſome other Powers to the laſt degree, and produced the famous Treaty of *Hanover*, which has been productive of a multitude of Treaties, Conventions, Preliminaries, *&c.* and is every Year bringing forth more. But to keep for the preſent to the Baron *de Ripperda*'s Treaties:

The firſt was a Treaty of Peace between their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties; the Preamble of which recited the Cauſe and Conſequences of the late general War in *Europe*, the Termination of it by the Treaties of *Utrecht*, *Baden* and *London*, the fruitleſs Conferences for three Years together at *Cambray*, and the full ſettling of thoſe Points, which would never have been ſettled there, by the Imperial Commiſſioners and the Baron *de Ripperda*, contain'd in the following Articles.

1. There ſhall be between their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties, their Heirs, Kingdoms, Subjects and Countries, a Chriſtian Peace general and perpetual, each Party avoiding whatever may detriment the other, and promoting what in him lies what may be to the other's Advantage.

2. The Treaty of *London*, concluded the 21ſt of *July*, 1718, and the Conditions of Peace therein mentioned, ſhall ſerve for the Baſis of the ſaid Peace;

Peace; in virtue of which Treaty, the ſaid Catholick King did effectually reſtore to his Imperial Majeſty the Iſland and Kingdom of *Sardinia*, and made a full Ceſſion of all the Rights and Demands he might have on the ſaid Kingdom; ſo that his Imperial Majeſty was left at liberty to diſpoſe of it as he ſhould think fit, for reſtoring the publick Tranquility.

3. As it hath been agreed, that the only Means which could be uſed for eſtabliſhing a Balance of Power in *Europe*, was the providing againſt the uniting the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, under the ſame Head; and as this Means hath been ſanctified by a fundamental Law, confirm'd at *Madrid* the 9th of *Nov.* 1712, by the *Cortes*, and ſtrengthened by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, concluded the 11th of *April* 1713; his Imperial Majeſty, for the better accompliſhing ſo juſt and ſalutary a Purpoſe, doth for himſelf, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Male and Female, renounce and relinquiſh all Rights and Pretenſions whatſoever, which they may have on any of the Kingdoms, States, or Countries belonging to the Monarchy of *Spain*, now in poſſeſſion of his Catholick Majeſty.

4. In virtue of the ſaid Renunciation of his Imperial Majeſty, and in conſideration that the Duke of *Orleans* hath renounced for him and his Deſcendants, all Rights or Pretenſions to the Crown of *Spain*, his ſaid Imperial and Catholick Majeſty doth acknowledge King *Philip* V. for the lawful King of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and promiſes to leave the ſaid King and his Deſcendants, Male and Female, in the quiet Poſſeſſion of all and every of the Kingdoms, Provinces, or States conceded to him by the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

5. His Catholick Majeſty, in conſideration of the two laſt Articles, renounces all his Rights or Pretenſions to the Kingdoms and States formerly poſſeſſed by the *Spaniſh* Monarchs, which are now in the poſſeſſion of his Imperial Majeſty; he likewiſe

wiſe renounces his Right to the Reverſion of the Kingdom of *Sicily* reſerved to him by Treaty.

6. His Imperial Majeſty accords, as he hath formerly accorded, in favour of the moſt ſerene Queen of *Spain*, that in caſe the Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* ſhall become vacant, the Emperor and the Empire ſhall grant to the eldeſt Son of the ſaid Queen of *Spain* the Inveſtiture of the ſaid Duchies. In aſſurance of which, his Imperial Majeſty will cauſe to be expedited to the ſaid Prince, Letters Expectative, containing the eventual Poſſeſſion, without prejudice however to the preſent Poſſeſſors. It is nevertheleſs agreed, that the City of *Leghorn* ſhall remain for ever a free Port. His Catholick Majeſty promiſes and obliges himſelf, to reſtore to the Prince who ſhall, in conſequence of the foregoing Article, enjoy theſe Duchies, the Fortreſs of *Porto Longone*, and the Part he at preſent poſſeſſes of the Iſland of *Elbe*, as ſoon as that Prince ſhall be in Poſſeſſion of *Tuſcany*. He alſo renounces for himſelf and Succeſſors Kings of *Spain*, the Power of appropriating, acquiring, or poſſeſſing any Part of the ſaid Duchies, of accepting them at any time, or of taking upon themſelves the Tutelage or Guardianſhip of the Prince to whom they ſhall deſcend. Their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties ſincerely promiſe, not to introduce any Troops, either of their own, or of their Pay, into the ſaid Duchies, during the Lives of their preſent Poſſeſſors; but in caſe either of the Duchies ſhall become vacant, it ſhall nevertheleſs be lawful for *Don Carlos* to take poſſeſſion of it in conſequence of the Letters of eventual Inveſtiture.

7. His Catholick Majeſty for himſelf, his Succeſſors and Heirs, in the Kingdom of *Spain*, renounces for ever all Right of Reverſion in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, reſerved by the Act of Ceſſion made by the King of *Sardinia*, in *June* 1713; and promiſes to put into the hands of his Imperial Majeſty

the

the Inſtruments of Reverſion, at the ſame time with the Ratification of this Treaty ; ſaving to his Catholick Majeſty however his Right of Reverſion to the Iſland and Kingdom of *Sardinia*, in conſequence of the ſecond Article of the Convention between the Emperor and the King of *Sardinia*.

8. The Emperor and the Catholick King mutually and reciprocally guarantee each other's Dominions and Poſſeſſions.

9. This Article contains a full and general Amneſty on all ſides.

10. It is agreed, that his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty *Charles* VI. *Roman* Emperor, and his Catholick Majeſty *Philip* V. King of *Spain*, and the *Indies*, ſhall uſe during their Lives the Titles they at preſent bear ; but their Heirs and Succeſſors ſhall regulate their Titles according to their Poſſeſſions.

11. The Duke of *Parma* ſhall be maintained with full and free Enjoyment of all his Eſtates, Rights and Privileges ; and in caſe any Differences ſhall ariſe between his Serene Highneſs and his Imperial Majeſty, they ſhall be amicably determin'd.

12. His Imperial Majeſty promiſes to defend and ſupport, when, and as often as it ſhall be neceſſary, the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*, as the ſame is regulated by the Treaty of *Utrecht*. And his Catholick Majeſty promiſes to guarantee and ſupport the Order of Succeſſion in his Imperial Majeſty's Dominions, as it ſhall be ſettled by the Pragmatick Sanction.

13. As to the Debts of the moſt Serene Infants *Mary* and *Margaret*, *Roman* Empreſſes, it is agreed, that the Towns, Burghs and Countries whereon the Funds were ſettled for the Diſcharge of what was due to them, ſhall be reſtored, or the total Value of the Debt ſhall be paid to his Imperial Majeſty, as well from the Death of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, as from the Acceptation of the Treaty of *London*.

14. As

14. As to the Debts contracted by his Imperial Majesty in *Catalonia*, or which were contracted by his Servants on his account, his Imperial Majesty takes upon him to clear and satisfy them fully. In like manner, his Catholick Majesty takes upon him to satisfy the Debts contracted for him, or in his Name, in *Flanders*, *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*. In two Months, Commissioners shall be appointed on each side to liquidate the said Debts.

15. As there still subsist some Differences concerning the Restitution of the Palaces at *Rome* and at the *Hague*, it is agreed, that the Palace of the *Hague* shall be compensated by that at *Viena*; and that with respect to the Palace at *Rome*, his Catholick Majesty shall pay the Emperor one half of its Value.

16. There shall be comprehended in this Treaty such Parties as shall be named by common Consent.

The 17th and 18th Articles relate to the Ratification and other circumstantial Points in this Alliance.

As to the Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and Empire on the one part, and the King of *Spain* on the other, it consisted of six Articles, which it is not necessary to repeat, and was signed on one side by the Baron *de Ripperda*, on the other by Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and the Counts *Sinzendorf*, *Starhenberg*, *Windisghratz*, and *Schonborn*.

The third, was a Treaty of Alliance between their Imperial and Catholick Majesties, and I conceive it is this which we generally mean in *England*, when we speak of the *Vienna* Treaty. It consisted of six Articles.

1. Their Imperial and Catholick Majesties shall have and maintain between each other, a solid and sincere Friendship. Each shall promote the other's Good, and as far as in him lies, secure him from Evil.

2. Inasmuch as it hath been represented by the Minister of the most Serene King of the *Spains*, that the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, with its Port, should be

be made by the King of *Great Britain*, and that it is inſiſted on by the King of *Spain*, that *Gibraltar*, with its Port, and the Iſland of *Minorca*, with its Port of *Mahon*, ſhould be reſtored to his Catholick Majeſty; it is declared on the part of his Imperial Majeſty, that if this Reſtitution can be amicably obtained, he will not oppoſe it; and if it ſhall ſeem uſeful, he will interpoſe his good Offices, and if the Parties deſire it, will enter into a Mediation for that end.

3. As a Mark of his ſincere and cordial Friendſhip, *Philip* V. King of *Spain* agrees and promiſes, that the Ships of his Imperial Majeſty, and of all his Subjects, ſhall have free Ingreſs into all the Ports on the Continent of *Spain*, and ſhall injoy all the Privileges of the moſt favoured Nation, particularly all the Privileges enjoy'd by the *French* and *Engliſh* Nations.

4. In caſe the Ships of any of the Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty ſhall ſuffer any Hoſtilities, on this or on the other Side of the Line, his Catholick Majeſty promiſes to make it a common Cauſe, in order to procure Satisfaction and Reparation. His Imperial Majeſty promiſes likewiſe, in the like caſe, to make it a common Cauſe alſo.

5. For the farther explaining the Guaranty, to which their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties reciprocally oblige themſelves, it is hereby declared, that in caſe any Part of his Imperial Majeſty's hereditary Dominions ſhould be attacked, his Catholick Majeſty ſhall aſſiſt him with all his Forces, and ſhall particularly ſend him a Fleet of fifteen Men of War of the Line, and twenty thouſand Men, *viz.* fifteen thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, or ſhall pay in Ready-money, in the City of *Genoa*, twenty-four thouſand Florins a Month, for every thouſand Foot that ſhall not be ſo ſent. And his Imperial Majeſty promiſes to aſſiſt his Catholick Majeſty in the like manner with all his Forces, particularly with thirty

thirty thouſand Men, *viz.* twenty thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe.

6. This Article relates only to the Ratifications.

The fourth Treaty was a Treaty of Commerce, which being extremely long, it would too much fatigue the Reader, ſhould we place it here. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the great View of the Imperial Court in this Treaty, was to ſecure themſelves thereby a free and ſafe Entrance into the Ports of his Catholick Majeſty, for the Ships of ſuch of his Imperial Majeſty's Subjects as ſhould be ſent to trade in the *Eaſt-Indies*, without which it was apprehended the *Oſtend* Company could not have ſubſiſted. All theſe Treaties, and eſpecially the laſt, being entirely calculated for the Advantage of his Imperial Majeſty and his Subjects, one cannot eaſily diſcover how the Baron *de Ripperda* came to acquieſce in them, much leſs can we account for the great Honours he received, in conſequence of his having negotiated theſe Treaties. The very Senſe of theſe Difficulties gave credit to a Report that was quickly ſpread, of there being certain ſecret Articles, ſo favourable to *Spain*, as to balance all the great things in the ſeveral Treaties ſtipulated in favour of his Imperial Majeſty; but it muſt be alſo acknowledg'd, that if any ſuch Articles there were, they have to this very hour remain'd a Secret, notwithſtanding the whole Syſtem of Affairs with reſpect to the Intercourſe between theſe Courts, hath been more than once changed ſince then.

One cannot wonder, after what has been related, at the high Favours confer'd on, and mighty Reſpect ſhewn to the Baron *de Ripperda*, by his Imperial Majeſty and the whole Court. There could be nothing more honourable for the Houſe of *Auſtria* than thoſe Treaties were, the Imperial Miniſters had all the reaſon in the world to be ſatisfied with a Perſon who had yielded to them all that they could deſire; and as for the People of *Vienna* in general,

general, there never was a Miniſter half ſo acceptable to them, as M. *de Ripperda*, becauſe there never was a Miniſter half ſo generous, or magnificent. When it was known, that the Duke *de Richelieu* would not depart, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter reſolved no longer to delay his publick Entry. He made it therefore on the 22d of *Auguſt*, 1725, with a Pomp, which ſtruck even the Inhabitants of *Vienna* with Surprize, who are accuſtomed to ſee the grandeſt Sights in the world. In the midſt of this Splendour, M. *de Ripperda* received the agreeable News of his Catholick Majeſty's approving all his Tranſactions, and of his having confer'd on him the Title of Duke, which is always attended with that of Grandee of *Spain*.

Such high, and one may ſay, unexpected Honours, did, if we may credit the Enemies of M. *de Ripperda*, operate not a little upon his Underſtanding, and induced him in the heat of Converſation at a Feaſt, which he gave on the Birth of his ſecond Son (for Madam *de Ripperda* was brought to bed while he was at *Vienna*) to let fall ſome Expreſſions of a very extraordinary nature. The Purport of his Diſcourſe was, that it would be more agreeable to the general Intereſt of the ſeveral Potentates in *Europe*, to have the *Chevalier de St. George* reſtored, than to ſuffer things to remain in *Great Britain*, as they then ſtood. Such Inſinuations, even at his own Table, are ſaid to have created not a little Diſturbance, and to have drawn upon him ſome very ſharp Reproofs from the Miniſters who were preſent. However, we are told, it had no farther Conſequence than to procure him a gentle Reprimand from the Emperor at his next Audience, and a Caution to be more circumſpect for the future in matters of ſuch Importance.

If this Story had not been publiſhed elſewhere, I ſhould never have given it a place here, it appearing at leaſt to me very improbable, if not abſurd.

ſurd. If there was any Foundation in fact for this Report, the Duke *de Ripperda* muſt have been ſtrongly influenced by the Jeſuits, or elſe he muſt have begun his Intrigues very early, and which is not very uſual for Men to do, meditated a Retreat before he was arrived at the top of Preferment. However it was, I am firmly perſuaded, that the Account given of this Converſation, induced the great Credit afforded to the Report of certain ſecret Articles, wherein the Emperor promiſed to aſſiſt *Spain* in recovering *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, and in carrying another Project, which ſhe was ſuppoſed to have at heart, into immediate Execution. If ſo, M. *de Ripperda* was certainly the Author of more Diſturbances than he ever compromiſed; and as a Miniſter, his Character with reſpect to this Point never can be defended. The Court of *Vienna* was then the moſt conſider'd in *Europe*; all Politicians kept their Eyes on her Motions, and ſtrange things were expected from the new Steps it was given out that ſhe would certainly take. Amongſt other ſtrange Faces that were ſeen among her Miniſters, there was one which occaſioned no ſmall Diſcourſe. He was a *Scot* by Nation, known at *Vienna* by the Name of *Chevalier Graham*; ſome ſaid he was a *Miniſter*, but all agreed that he was qualified for that Employment. He converſed with Perſons of the firſt Diſtinction, and was judged to have Buſineſs with them, but whether of a publick or private Nature, I am ſure I cannot determine. This I have heard, that his being ſo well received gave ſome Diſguſt.

When once the Duke *de Ripperda* had fairly brought about all the great things he was ſent to do at *Vienna*, he grew very impatient in his Expectation of returning to *Madrid*. It is not material enough for us to examine, whether this was the Effect of his natural Diſpoſition, or of a Habit contracted from long living in *Spain*, where to be baniſhed, or to

reſide

reſide out of *Madrid*, are held ſynonymous Terms. In this, as in other things, he was extremely fortunate; for the Catholick King, who inherited from his Grandfather a Deſire of ſhewing his Gratitude towards all who endeavoured his Service, at the Requeſt of the Duke *de Ripperda*, gave him leave to return home; and as an additional Mark of his Favour, allowed him to leave the Care of his Affairs to the Baron *de Ripperda* his Son, tho' he was then ſcarce nineteen Years of Age. It is hard to ſay, whether this young Gentleman derived any thing from the Fortune of his Father, ſince his Merit, had he been the Son of a Stranger, would well have intitled him to the high Honour he received. Young as he was, he had far leſs Vivacity than his Father, a Stock of Learning, ſeldom to be found in Gentlemen of his Age, join'd with a Modeſty, which very rarely accompanies ſuch a Stock of Learning. His Father furniſhed him at his Departure with ample Inſtructions in reſpect to his Conduct, but his own Behaviour towards all the publick Miniſters, rendered thoſe Inſtructions in a manner needleſs; every one being ready to aſſiſt the Baron with their Advice in all things, which he received with a Docility that effectually ſecured in his Intereſt whoever adviſed him. There was another thing that Duke *de Ripperda* had in view, and which is ſuppoſed was the principal Motive which induced him to procure this Honour for his Son, *viz.* a Marriage he had projected between this young Nobleman and the Counteſs *de Blaggay*, a Lady of an immenſe Fortune, whoſe Father had been Grand Chamberlain to the Emperor. The Pretence for leaving the Baron was the finiſhing certain Negotiations, but that this was barely a Pretence, appears from the Dates of the ſeveral Treaties, and their Ratifications, which are all prior to the Duke's Departure. It is true, that the Defenſive Alliance and Treaty of Commerce

were kept ſecret for ſome time, and therefore it might paſs well enough upon the World for the preſent, that the Baron *de Ripperda* was left to take care of theſe Matters; but as the truth of this Affair is now out of queſtion, it would be by no means juſt to aſcribe this Step to any other than its real Motives. When the Duke *de Ripperda* had his Audience of Leave, which was on the 20th of *October* 1726, his Imperial Majeſty made him a Preſent, which was valued at fifteen hundred Pounds Sterling. The Courtiers and *Auſtrian* Nobility were extremely mortified at the loſs of him, and ſo were the Publick Miniſters, tho' they affected not to ſhew it, becauſe the Duke *de Ripperda* performed the Honours of his Houſe with greater Politeneſs, and kept up a ſtronger Flow of Spirit and good Humour in his Aſſemblies, than were to be ſeen elſewhere. For as he made them his ſole Diverſions, ſo he ſpared no Coſt to render them as innocently entertaining as was poſſible. But if the People of Rank were touched with the News of his Departure, the Inhabitants of *Vienna* were in a manner inconſolable. He lived, as has been ſaid, in a moſt expenſive manner; and if in this he play'd the *Spaniard*, he ſhewed himſelf ſtill a *Hollander* in the Punctuality of his Payments. Beneficent by Nature, charitable rather by Diſpoſition than from Principle, and fond of diſtinguiſhing himſelf where parting with Money would do it, it is no wonder, that the Duke was the Darling of the Vulgar, to whom Magnificence is a Sun which ſwallows up the Luſtre of all leſſer Virtues.

In his Return to *Spain*, he received wherever he paſt exceſſive and unexpected Honours, of which the Republick of *Genoa* was in a particular manner profuſe. They cauſed him to be met by a Cavalcade of Coaches at a diſtance from their City. One of their prime Nobility offered him the Uſe of his Houſe, as long as he ſhould think fit, and a Galley

was

was equipped and furniſhed at the publick Expence, in order to tranſport him and his Equipage to *Spain*. But the Duke did not chuſe to make any ſtay, he ſupp'd in publick, that he might not ſeem to deſpiſe the Honours done him by that State, but he embark'd the next day on board the common Packet-Boat, that he might not appear ſingular by a vain Affectation of Honours. In fine, on the 11th of *December*, he arrived at *Madrid*, where he had been long expected, and where every body impatiently waited to ſee what Reception he would meet with from their Majeſties.

They did not long languiſh in their Expectations; the very next day after his Arrival, M. *de Ripperda* was preſent at the King's Levée: he had ſcarce made his Compliments to his Majeſty, before that Prince, turning to thoſe who were preſent, ſaid, *I ſhould be much at a loſs, if I went about to expreſs the Senſe I have of* Ripperda's *Services; and I the rather decline it, becauſe I know that even the Praiſes which are juſtly due to his Conduct, would bear hard upon his Modeſty.* Then turning to him, he ſaid, *In recalling you from* Vienna, *I ſought an Opportunity of doing juſtice in ſome meaſure to your Virtue, by giving you more diſtinguiſhing Marks than I have yet done of my Confidence. The Office of* Superintendant-General of Commerce *is become vacant, by the Death of Don* Antonio Emanuel Azavedo, *I give it you, and leave alſo to your Care the Affairs of* Great Britain *and the* Low-Countries. The *Duke* made the moſt humble Acknowledgements for theſe unmerited Favours, as he thought fit to call them, and his Majeſty to heighten them ſtill more, conducted him himſelf to his Audience of the Queen.

Her Majeſty no ſooner ſaw him entering her Apartment, than ſhe called out to him, *You have done well, M.* de Ripperda, *you have made a good ſtep for a —— I conceive, Madam,* ſaid he, *what you would ſay, and will endeavour to expreſs it. I have*

done my utmoſt Endeavours to ſhew I am not wholly undeſerving of thoſe Acts of Bounty and Beneficence, which your Majeſties have been pleaſed to exerciſe on a hapleſs Stranger, who had no other Merit than that of diſcerning the Happineſs, which is inſeparable from being your Majeſties Subject, who for this abandoned his Country, and who can never repent of having taken that ſtep, which in any other Country he muſt have repented as ſoon as he had made. I dare promiſe your Majeſties nothing in return for all the great things I have received but this; that my Zeal and my Fidelity ſhall not fall ſhort of your Goodneſs, whatever my Abilities, whatever my Fortune may do. I am extremely ſenſible, that I am the Creature of your Favour, and it ſhall be the Buſineſs of my Life, to expreſs the Sincerity of my Gratitude. This gracious Reception was more than ſufficient to eſtabliſh the Duke with the Grandees of the Court; he was attended to his Apartments by a Croud of his Friends, amongſt whom were many who were ſincerely ſuch; but the far greater part were the proper Attendants of a Favourite's Fortune; People, who on a ſudden ſaw mighty Perfections in a Man, in whom they formerly ſaw nothing extraordinary, and who made uſe of the ſame hyperbolic Expreſſions in their Compliments and Panegyrics, which they would have uſed in Satires and Lampoons, if with all his Induſtry and Fidelity he had been ſo unlucky as to have incurr'd their Majeſties Diſpleaſure. As for the Duke himſelf, he was as yet courteous and complaiſant to all, ſo far as the preſent Situation of his Mind permitted; for he was ſo ſtrongly agitated with the Thoughts of what he had received, and what he might expect, that it was with ſome difficulty he bore a part in ordinary Converſations.

The new-raiſed Miniſter, far from being ſatisfied with the Honours he had attained, began to fix his Eyes on nothing leſs than ſucceeding the Cardinals

Alberoni

Alberoni and *del Giudice*; and we ſhall ſee, that when he had even reached this Point, his Ambition was not ſated. That a Stranger, a Man without Alliances, whoſe Friends were few in number, and in no great Credit, and who was himſelf but very lately become conſpicuous in the *Spaniſh* Court, ſhould conceive ſo vaſt a Deſign, is not a grain leſs wonderful than that he ſucceeded in it. But what makes it ſtill more ſurprizing is, that from the moment he projected it, he laid aſide moſt of thoſe good Qualities, which had given thoſe who loved him an Opportunity of raiſing his Character, and prevented his Enemies from finding any thing eſſentially bad, which they could fix upon him. By this I mean, that he laid aſide his Condeſcenſion, his Complacence, his Eaſineſs of Acceſs, his pretended Zeal for Religion, and that Moderation of Sentiments, for which he had been always eſteemed. Inſtead of theſe, he put on, or rather he diſcovered, all his Miniſterial Abilities. If he was ſilent, he wore ſuch an Air of Solemnity and Recollection, as deterred others from ſpeaking; if he ſpoke, it was in Laconick Sentences, that had more Affinity with the Reſponſes of Oracles, than the Turn of modern Converſation. His Friends were no longer welcomed in Words, a Shrug was eſteemed a Kindneſs, and a Smile a Mark of Favour, ſo much the more valued in that it was very rarely beſtowed. To the Miniſters of State, he delivered his Opinion as a Rule not to be receded from. In Council he dictated: And in their Majeſties Cloſet he read Lectures. To publick Miniſters, he was ſtill ſpecious and polite, tho' no longer eaſy, or ſincere. To the Jeſuits alone, he remained what he was, as ſolely to their Intrigues he owed that high Reputation in which he ſtood with the King and Queen of *Spain*.

The Ducheſs *de Ripperda* ſuffered as quick and as ſtrange an Alteration as her Huſband. The La-

dies of Quality, who were continually preſent in her Antichamber, the Court paid her now by thoſe ſhe formerly thought it an Honour to pay her Court to, and the Airs of State her Huſband put on, turned her Head and troubled her Imagination. She no longer exclaimed at her Huſband's Reſervedneſs, his continual Application to Buſineſs, or of thoſe long and fatiguing Journeys, which ſhe formerly reflected upon with horrour. Grandeur made amends for all things, and Quiet was thought well exchanged for the ſwelling Title of Ducheſs. Her Humility, Chearfulneſs, unaffected Piety, extenſive Charity, and Contempt of the Vanities of the World, were now forgotten. Madam *de Ripperda* was loſt in the Wife of the Miniſter of State; inſomuch that thoſe, who paid their Reſpects to the latter, could not diſcern in her the ſmalleſt Likeneſs of the former: on which the *Spaniſh* Wits were pleaſed to ſay, that the Baroneſs *de Ripperda* quitted *Madrid* a little before his Excellency the Duke *de Ripperda* arrived there from *Vienna*. Some *Engliſh* Reader will perhaps fancy, that People ſpeak not ſo freely in *Spain*; but let him baniſh ſuch Fancies, the *Spaniards* are wiſe and brave, and a wiſe and brave People will ſpeak. It is the Friends and Favourites of Miniſters that are Slaves; thoſe who dare be independent, will never be tongue-tied. No! not if they are terrified by Puniſhments. No! to a wiſe and brave Man, the not daring to ſpeak his Sentiments, is more excruciating than *Nero*'s Torments. This has always been the caſe from *Sejanus* down to *Ripperda*. Where it is not the caſe, the People dwindle into irrational Animals, of whom even their Tyrants can make little or no uſe. But it is time to return from the Saucineſs of Subjects, to the Affairs of their Sovereigns; to dwell longer on ſuch a Subject, would become a *French* Memoir-writer. That he has dwelt ſo long upon it, is ſcarce excuſable in a *Briton*. But as it is our

Foible

Foible to ſtare at Monſters, I hope the Reader will ſtare as well as I.

By the preſent Situation of Affairs in *Spain*, many of the *European* Powers were not a little offended. *France* ſaw with the utmoſt Indignation his Catholick Majeſty ſo ſtrictly attached to the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and by a new Strain of Policy, affected to apprehend exceſſive Dangers from ſome Marriage between this Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and one of the Arch-Ducheſſes. The States-General, tho' they were far from taking umbrage at the Reconciliation of the two Courts, yet were they not a little alarmed when they came to learn the Contents of the Treaty of Commerce; a Treaty, which deprived them of all hopes of ſeeing the *Oſtend* Company ſuppreſſed, and which baulked their Expectations of engroſſing to themſelves the lucrative Commerce in *India* Goods, which is carried on throughout *Germany* and the *North*. As for *Great Britain*, ſhe was made to believe that the chief End of the *Vienna* Alliance was to humble her Power and injure her Trade; ſhe therefore declared herſelf in very warm Terms on this Head, notwithſtanding that there were ſome Politicians in that Country, who thought the *Vienna* Treaty ſo far from being prejudicial to her Intereſts, that it might have been improved highly to her Advantage, by dividing effectually *Spain* from *France*, and by gratifying her preſent Views by ſecuring effectually the Trade of the *Weſt-Indies*. However this might be, the Miniſtry there took another Courſe; and by negotiating of a Counter-Treaty at *Hanover*, not only alarmed the Court of *Spain* for the preſent, but inſtilled into it, and into its Subjects ſuch Jealouſies and ſuch an inveterate Prejudice, as hath not appeared eaſy to root out. The Enemies of the Duke *de Ripperda*, for Enemies he had almoſt without number, as ſoon as they knew this Treaty was on the Tapis, began to con-

ceive great hopes of tumbling him from his new-acquir'd Dignities, but in this they were exceedingly miſtaken. Fortune piques herſelf on ſupporting her Favourites, while they are rudely puſhed, that their Fall, like their Riſe, may appear to be the Work only of her own hand.

The Memorials preſented by the *Dutch* Miniſter ſuggeſted, that the Privileges granted to the Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty were contrary to the Treaties ſubſiſting between his Catholick Majeſty and the States, gave the firſt Occaſion of ſounding the King's Inclination, as to parting with his Miniſter, but it plainly appeared he deſigned nothing leſs; for inſtead of ſhewing the Duke *de Ripperda* leſs Countenance than before, he followed exactly the Advice he gave him on the Subject, which was to put off their High Mightineſſes as long as poſſible with evaſive Anſwers, and to make uſe of the time gained thereby, to ingage the Emperor in ſuch quick Meaſures, as might convince the Confederates, that he was reſolved to ſupport the *Vienna* Alliance to the utmoſt Extent of his Power. This the Duke *de Ripperda* really believed his Imperial Majeſty would do. For knowing, as he did, that all theſe Meaſures were taken ſolely at the requeſt, and to ſerve the Purpoſes, of that Court, he could not apprehend, that they could do leſs than ſupport their own Intereſts, and go as far as the King of *Spain* did, in defending the Glory, Intereſt, and high Pretenſions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

The *Spaniſh* Miniſters, who were in contrary Sentiments, did all in their power to ſhew the King, that the *Hanover* Alliance would prove too heavy in the end, and oblige his Majeſty once more to depart from the mighty Projects he had formed. But his Catholick Majeſty, who is very far from being fickle, did not give ſo readily into this Opinion, as had been expected; on the contrary, he determined to make himſelf entirely eaſy

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by throwing the whole Weight of publick Affairs on the Duke *de Ripperda*, which he did by conferring on him five or ſix of the moſt conſpicuous Employments in the Kingdom; and he did it, that there might be no Contradiction or Confuſion in the publiſhing or executing the neceſſary Orders. Thus the Struggles of his Enemies did more for the Duke *de Ripperda*, than ſuited with the Wiſhes of his Friends. They began too early to attempt the deſtroying him in the King's Opinion, their Projects turned upon themſelves; and inſtead of effecting his Ruin, they compleated their own. The Marquis *de Grimaldi* executed at that time the Office of Secretary of State; but either really falling ſick, or elſe feigning himſelf to be ſo, the King, without aſking any body's Advice, added this Office to thoſe already poſſeſſed by the Duke *de Ripperda*; to which ſhortly after the Employment of Secretary at War, which had been formerly ſeparated from thence, and given to the Marquis *de Caſtellar*, was rejoined. On the Promotion of Don *Antonio Sopena* to the Office of Secretary of the *Indies*, another large Branch of Buſineſs, with which he had been charged, fell likewiſe to the ſhare of the Duke. He was over and above cloathed with a new and very extraordinary Authority; for the King publiſhed an Edict, wherein, after taking notice that *Spain* could no more be exempt from ſome Malverſations of Men in power than another Country, he therefore permitted a Reviſion of all Sentences, and a Review of all Tranſactions by Governours, Judges, Collectors, and every other kind of Royal Officers by the Duke *de Ripperda*, to whom any Subject might appeal, in caſe he thought himſelf aggrieved by any other Subject how great ſoever. Such an Accumulation of various and important Cares, if it required much of the Duke's Time and Attention, it gave him no leſs Weight and Credit, not only in Council, but every where elſe, it made him terrible

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in the Provinces, formidable to the Grandees; and in fine, ſuch a Miniſter, as had never been ſeen before, a kind of Vicar-General, whoſe Power fell very little ſhort of Sovereignty. A wonderful Change this, from living like a Country Gentleman at *Segovia* without Riches, Intereſt or Expectations.

We have hitherto dealt very little in Panegyric, it is now high time to ſay ſomething in favour of him of whom we write, eſpecially ſince we can ſay it without prejudice to Truth. He diſappointed his Enemies by his Conduct in ſuch extraordinary Circumſtances, and if he had never abandon'd himſelf to his Paſſions, if he had never thought of imitating *Alberoni*, in oppoſing the laſt Reſources of a ruined Kingdom to the united Force of the greateſt Potentates, he might have lived with Honour, and died with Glory. For ſuch was his prodigious Capacity, ſuch his exceſſive Application, that in the midſt of all his Offices, he was never found either negligent or confuſed. He ſacrificed all things to Buſineſs, and tho' he could not preſerve himſelf from Fits of the Gout, yet he ſo far triumphed over Pain, as to tranſact Buſineſs even in his worſt Fits; becauſe, as he ſaid, it was by no means reaſonable that one Man's Infirmities ſhould affect a whole Nation. Yet with all theſe good Properties, he was haughty, opinionative, full of his own Merit, had a deſpicable Opinion of the People to whom he owed all his Grandeur; and by degrees, it is ſaid, loſt ſomewhat of that deep Gratitude and profound Reſpect, which was due to his kind Patroneſs the Queen. What wonder, if ſtanding as he did on a Pinnacle, his Head ſometimes turned round? Or what greater wonder than that, it did not always do ſo, conſidering the exceſſive Height to which he was raiſed, and that Rapidity with which he had riſen?

In the midſt of all theſe perplexed Affairs, the Duke never abandon'd his darling Deſign of perfecting

fecting the *Spaniſh* Manufactures; he was ſo far from thinking the Superintendency of them below him, now he was become both prime and ſole Miniſter, that he applied all his Power, all his Intereſt, and all his Credit, for their Benefit and Advantage. By this means he really effected what the beſt *Spaniards* always wiſhed, and the wiſeſt deſpaired to ſee, and he produced to their Catholick Majeſties many Pieces of the lighter ſort of Woollen Goods, of the Manufacture of *Segovia*, to the full as good as any they received from abroad. On the producing of theſe Goods, he obtained new Favours, and larger Privileges for the Manufactures; who, when they ſaw themſelves ſo much conſidered by their Majeſties, and made as it were part of the Prime Miniſter's Family, they exerted their Abilities to the utmoſt, and in return for the high Favours they had received, became the principal Glory of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Adminiſtration. On their account he boaſted, that he had opened in *Spain* a Mine above ground, which might vie in time with thoſe of *Mexico* and *Peru*; which, while it filled the Kingdom with Money, would alſo keep its Inhabitants employed, attract Foreigners, and hinder the Exportation of Specie. Theſe were Notions only worthy of M. *de Ripperda*, ſubſequent Miniſters have not conſidered Manufactures in the ſame light, doubtleſs through their want of knowing them as well as M. *de Ripperda* did; otherwiſe the Manufacture at *Segovia* might have become as formidable to *Great Britain*, as the *Oſtend* Company was to the *Dutch*. One evident Advantage we have gained in *England* by this change of Notions, is our having no more Weavers, Spinners, Clothiers, *&c.* debauched, which under his Miniſtry was common. All the Agents in theſe Intrigues are our own Countrymen, People of ſlender Character and broken Fortunes, who for the ſake of gratifying their Paſſions engage in any Service,

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and are ready to undertake any Miſchief, how wide or dangerous ſoever its Conſequences may be.

The Enemies of the new Miniſter never quitted their grand Battery of the *Hanover* Alliance, which they looked upon as a thing that would one day or other effectually demoliſh the ambitious Duke. That Great Man, however, as he had a prodigious Fluency of ſpeaking, as well as an extraordinary Capacity of inventing Expedients on all occaſions, perſuaded their Majeſties and ſome of the Nobility, who had moſt Credit with them, that his Scheme ſteadily adhered to, would free the Crown of *Spain* from the Difficulties ſhe laboured under; and thus he pretended to make it out. He obſerved, that by the Treaty of *Vienna*, he had effectually taken away the Root of domeſtick Jealouſies and Heart-burnings. For tho' it was true, that by the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, and eſpecially by the Quadruple Alliance, his Catholick Majeſty *Philip* V. was quieted in the Poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms, and his Title acknowledged even by his Competitor; yet there never had been any direct Correſpondence between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, any Intercourſe of Civility between their Miniſters, or any Ceſſation of the ſecret Intrigues of both Courts, with the diſcontented Subjects of each other. Whereas now the Intereſts of the Emperor and the Catholick King were effectually united, which would ſhortly produce ſo many and ſo happy Effects, as would aſtoniſh all the minor Politicians. He took notice of the Method in which Affairs had been formerly carried on, wherein *Great Britain* and *Holland* were in fact the cloſe Allies of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, at the ſame time that under colour of being indifferent, they took upon them the Quality of Mediators; whence he inferred, that his Catholick Majeſty would always have ſuffered in his Honour and Intereſts, and yet never have acquired the Confidence of the Court of *Vienna*. As to *France*,

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he remarked, that the Duke of *Bourbon* followed closely the Steps of the Regent, in attaching himself to the Court of *Great Britain*, and shewing a great Suspicion of his Catholick Majesty's Intentions. The main Design therefore of his Politicks, was to change the whole System of Affairs in *Europe*, and by making *Spain* subservient to the Emperor in the Affair of Trade, to make the Emperor on the other hand subservient to *Spain*, in regard to certain favourite Schemes, which he persuaded their Catholick Majesties, he should sooner or later find a way to execute.

As to the Treaty of *Hanover*, which had been concluded in the Month of *September*, 1725, and which ought rather to be called the Treaty of *Herenhausen*; the Duke *de Ripperda* affected to speak of it in a very haughty manner. He did not fail to insinuate, that he would make the Contracting Parties themselves repent it, and perhaps disavow it. We shall hereafter see on what Principles he went. But as to the States-General, he endeavoured to divert them from acceding to the Treaty, both by fair means and by foul. Sometimes he flattered their Minister at *Madrid* with fair Promises, expressed a deep Concern for the Honour and Interest of their High Mightinesses Subjects, and insinuated that if they acted with Moderation, his Catholick Majesty might be induced to take some remarkable Steps in their favour. In the mean while, the Imperial Minister at the *Hague*, Count *Konigsegg Erps* presented Memorial after Memorial in *Latin*, drawn up in a high and dark Stile; 'till such time as perceiving that the States were not so much influenced by them as he expected, he presented a very clear and brisk Memorial in *French*, which was afterwards made publick: yet all this had no manner of effect; on the contrary, the States-General went on in taking the preparatory Steps to an Accession,

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which the Imperial Court had taken ſo much pains to prevent.

As to the *Spaniſh* Secretary at the *Hague* M. *de Oliver*, he did great Honour to the Miniſtry of the Duke *de Ripperda*. For he preſented from time to time ſuch ſoft and pacifick Memorials, as were moſt likely to keep their High Mightineſſes from taking any haſty or definitive Step, till ſuch time as the Seaſon was proper for delivering the King of *Spain*'s famous Letter, dated from *Madrid* the 23d of *January* 1736. This Letter began with high Compliments to the States, and then propoſed his Catholick Majeſty's Mediation for terminating the Difficulties which had ariſen in the Negotiation between their High Mightineſſes and his Imperial Majeſty, on the head of Trade in general, and of the *Oſtend* Company in particular. It likewiſe contained an explicit Declaration from his Catholick Majeſty, that he was determined punctually to fulfil his Engagements to the Emperor, and to reſent the ſmalleſt Injury offered to any of his Imperial Majeſty's Subjects, as if it was done to himſelf. This correſponded exactly with Count *Konigſegg*'s Memorial, and ſeemed to menace the States with a War, in caſe they acceded to the Treaty of *Hanover*. The true Deſign of it however was, to get the Negotiation transfer'd to *Madrid*, the Court of *Vienna* having ſent Count *Konigſegg*, Uncle to Count *Konigſegg Erps*, thither with full Powers, in order to treat with Mr. *Vandermeer*, the *Dutch* Miniſter at *Madrid*. To colour this the better, the Duke *de Ripperda*, in a Letter to the *Dutch* Miniſter, aſſigns theſe Reaſons: Firſt, That it was the Pleaſure of his Imperial Majeſty. Secondly, That the Neceſſity of the thing required it. The Marquis *de St. Philippe*, whom his Catholick Majeſty had named his Miniſter at the *Hague*, being ſo greatly indiſpoſed, that it was impoſſible for him to arrive there time enough, eſpecially conſidering the

the Impatience with which his Majeſty expected the final Determination of theſe Differences. Thirdly, That tho' his Catholick Majeſty had the greateſt Reſpect for, and all the reaſon in the world to confide in M. *de Oliver*, yet as he was Secretary only at the *Hague*, he could not ſend him the full Powers; ſo that the Negotiation could not any longer be carried on there.

It cannot be denied, that in all theſe Steps the Duke *de Ripperda* acted like a great and able Miniſter, and that particularly in this laſt Expedient he ſhewed himſelf a deep Politician. But ſtill the Stroke, which was to inforce all this, was to come from the Court of *Vienna*, on the Firmneſs of which the Duke *de Ripperda* reckoned, and therefore had ſpoken his Sentiments very freely on the Treaty of *Herenhauſen*. In order to give the Reader a diſtinct Idea of the Duke's great Reach in Politicks, I ſhall inſert the famous Reflections on that Treaty, which were written from Hints given by this adroit Miniſter.

Reflections on the Treaty concluded at Hanover *the third of* September 1725, *between the Kings of* France, Great Britain, *and* Pruſſia.

1. THIS Treaty is made and concluded in the heart of the Empire, by two Electors and Princes of the Empire, with a foreign Power, contrary to the Peace concluded between his Imperial Majeſty and the Empire with the Crown of *Spain*.

2. It is contrary *in Formalibus & Materialibus* to the ſolemn Oath of Inveſtiture, and to the Duty of a Member of the Empire.

3. It is likewiſe contrary to the Peace of *Weſtphalia*, Art. 8. Sect. 2. and to the Tenour of the tenth Article of Capitulation made with the Emperor *Joſeph*, and to the ſixth of that made with the preſent Emperor at the time of his Election. And

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for the ſame reaſon, it is contrary to the Section *Gaudeant*, &c. and particularly in that,

4. In the ſecond Article of this Treaty, the Contracting Parties mutually engage to guaranty to each other all in general the Countries, Towns, *&c.* of which they ſtand poſſeſſed, together with all their Rights, Privileges and Advantages. By which all the Power and Authority conferr'd on his Imperial Majeſty, in virtue of his Capitulation at his Election, and conformable to the Laws of the Empire, is no longer at all conſidered by the Contracting Parties. So that all ſuch as have been injured and unjuſtly treated by the ſaid Kings of *Britain* and *Pruſſia*, as Electors and Princes of the Empire, or are at preſent engaged in Suits againſt them, are debarr'd all hopes of *Juſtice*; and conſequently with reſpect to theſe two Members of the Empire, all Right and Juſtice in the Empire is deſtroyed, and they are at liberty to proceed at Will and Pleaſure againſt every one, and even againſt his Imperial Majeſty. With this view it is ſtipulated,

5. By the third Article in the Treaty, what Succours in Men and in Money each Ally ſhall furniſh the other, in caſe of his being diſturbed in the actual Poſſeſſion of his Countries or Rights, without ſpecifying whether they are juſtly or unjuſtly poſſeſſed of them.

6. This Article breaks that Connection, which, according to the Laws of the Empire, ought to ſubſiſt between his Imperial Majeſty, as the ſupreme Chief of the Empire, and the Members of which it is compoſed, as well as that which ought alſo to remain among the Members of the Empire one with another. And as it is ſaid above, this third Article is contrary to the ſolemn Oaths of the Kings of *Britain* and *Pruſſia*, which, as Electors and Princes of the Empire, they have publickly and ſolemnly taken, at the time of their Inveſtiture, to his Imperial Majeſty, and the holy *Roman* Empire,

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in the preſence of Almighty God, who knows all things.

7. It is further ſpecified in the ſecond ſeparate Article, that in caſe the Empire ſhould be ſo far irritated by this Treaty, and the Matters therein contained, as to declare War againſt the Crown of *France*, that then, neither *Brandenbourg* nor *Brunſwick* ſhall furniſh for the carrying on ſuch a War, thoſe Contingents, which, by the Laws of the Empire, they are bound to furniſh, but ſhall on the contrary act jointly and forcibly with the Crown of *France*, 'till Peace is re-eſtabliſhed. This entirely deſtroys the Conſtitution of the Empire, and takes away utterly that Obedience and Dependance, which every Member owes to his Imperial Majeſty and the Empire.

8. This is not only an actual Separation from the whole Empire, but it is alſo an expreſs Union with thoſe, who, in ſuch a caſe, are the declared Enemies of the Empire; and theſe two things are manifeſt Contraventions of the Peace of *Germany*, and of the fundamental Laws of the Empire, which they have ſworn to obſerve, and which ſubjects the Offenders to certain Penalties mentioned in the ſaid Laws.

9. We find in the third ſecret Article the following Words: "That in caſe the Empire ſhould take "ſuch a Reſolution as is mentioned in the ſaid "Article, to the prejudice of the Kings of *Great* "*Britain* and *Pruſſia*, the Crown of *France* ſhall "openly take their part, 'till ſuch time as the "Trouble, Injuſtice, and Proſecution ſhall en-"tirely ceaſe." By this means all Recourſe of the United States of the Empire to his Imperial Majeſty, and the ſupreme Judicature of the Empire, is entirely barr'd, with reſpect to the Contracting Powers; and conſequently all Right, Aſſiſtance and Protection, as well as all Juriſdiction and Power are aboliſhed. The Peace of *Germany*

is alſo broke, and foreign Troops, it is ſtipulated, ſhall enter the Kingdom; which is what the Emperor himſelf cannot permit, in conſequence of his Capitulation.

10. From hence it is plain and evident, that here is openly concluded an Alliance, offenſive and defenſive, againſt his Imperial *Roman* Majeſty, which cannot but cauſe great Troubles in the Empire, and endanger a total Suppreſſion of Juſtice, in reſpect to the States of the Empire, their Countries and Inhabitants. There remains therefore nothing elſe, than that all true *Germans* ſhould with his Imperial Majeſty, inſtead of acceding to, oppoſe this Treaty with their utmoſt Force, and concur in taking all poſſible Meaſures for preſerving the Tranquility of the Empire, the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and the common Peace of Chriſtendom.

This was very ſoon after followed by a larger Piece, under the Title of an Analyſis of the Treaty of *Hanover*, written by the famous M. *Du Mont*, now called Baron of *Carelſcroon*, Hiſtoriographer to his Imperial Majeſty. It was a very laboured, as well as very learned Piece, but it was immediately reply'd to, and neither of theſe Repreſentations had any ſuch Effects on the Minds of Men, as the Partizans of the Court of *Spain* expected from them. The great End of the Duke *de Ripperda*, in giving all the helps he could to thoſe who had the care of working up theſe Materials into regular Diſcourſes, was to draw a Parallel between the Electors, who were Contracting Powers in the Treaty of *Herenhauſen*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had been put under the Ban of the Empire, for concluding ſuch an Alliance with *France* as this of *Hanover* was repreſented to be. Had his Deſign ſucceeded in this, and had he likewiſe effected what he had conceived in his mind, with reſpect to the Powers in the North, undoubtedly he would have given

given the Allies of *Hanover* a great deal of Trouble. But it ſo fell out, that neither his Threatnings on the one hand intimidated, nor his Promiſes on the other wrought any Change on the Intentions of the States-General. The States of *Holland* had already acceded to the Treaty, and the reſt ſhewed their Inclinations to follow their Example ſo viſibly, that tho' it was impoſſible to find any fault in the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Proceedings, yet it was as impoſſible to doubt of their being unſucceſsful, notwithſtanding all his Arts and all his Care, and notwithſtanding he was perfectly well ſeconded by the Miniſters he employed.

The Quickneſs of the Miniſter's Genius hindred him from remaining at all in the dark. He ſaw clearly enough, that he ſhould not be able to keep his Poſt, if the Emperor did not act up to the Plan he had laid down; and as he had no Security for his doing this, but a vain Conceit that it was for his Intereſt, he ſoon ſaw his Folly in building ſo much on his own Opinion, and fell thereupon into an incurable Malady, attended with ſome Fits of Paſſion, which bordered very nearly on Diſtraction. He continued however, which is ſcarce credible, to diſcharge with his uſual Punctuality the Duties of his ſeveral Charges. He ſummoned the greateſt and moſt powerful of the Nobility before his Tribunal, on the ſlighteſt Complaints, and did ſuch ſtrict and impartial Juſtice, that tho' it raiſed him many Enemies, yet it kept the People in his Intereſt; who ſaw, with equal Amazement and Satisfaction, a Stranger poſſeſſed of the Courage, as well as Power, to protect them againſt their own Nobles, who had oppreſſed them time out of mind. On ſuch Occaſions, as well as in Council, the Duke was wont to deliver himſelf very copiouſly, not only on the State of Affairs, but alſo on the Errors of the *Spaniſh* Government; and the great reaſon there was to expect all Degrees of People, and eſpe-

cially the Nobles, ſhould contribute to their utmoſt for the taking of them away. His Speeches were ſo nervous, ſo ſagacious, and had ſuch an evident Tendency to the Publick Good, that tho' they led to Undertakings impracticable in their nature, yet were they not eaſily to be refuted, nor was there any body to be found who was willing to take that Taſk upon him, which was ſo viſibly invidious, and which would naturally have been liable to great Miſconſtruction.

In reſpect to his Office of Director-Ceneral of the Manufactures, he in the Spring of 1726, gave ſuch a Proof of his Abilities and Induſtry, as ſufficiently ſhewed what mighty things he could have performed, had not the national Weakneſſes of *Spain* and his perſonal Enemies hindered him. He cloathed from the Looms of *Segovia* the *Spaniſh* Infantry in *Spaniſh* cloth, to the Amazement of Foreigners, as well as of the *Spaniſh* Nation. Some, who have pretended to criticize on his Conduct, will have it, that he acted imprudently in making this Diſplay of his Succeſs; becauſe, ſay they, it could not fail of irritating the *Engliſh*, who, by this Specimen, were convinced, that the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Projects were not chimerical, but that it was both in his Intention and in his Power to revive the drooping Spirit of Trade in *Spain*, and to eſtabliſh there thoſe ſolid Funds of Wealth and Commerce, which had rendered other Nations powerful. But with ſubmiſſion to wiſer Heads, theſe were but very poor and ſhallow Objections. The *Spaniards* had long ago ſeen how little Inclination the *Engliſh* had to ſhew them any favour; and as to the Alliance at *Herenhauſen*, they were better informed, than to fancy the Growth of their Manufactures had any Influence therein. On the contrary, they ſaw clearly, that the Syſtem of Politicks, which then reigned in certain Courts, made ſuch ſort of Counter-Alliances neceſſary, whatever

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Pretences might be made uſe of to blind the eyes of the Many, and to give the Air of publick Utility to Matters of private Concern. Beſides, the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Reputation lay at ſtake. Thoſe who were jealous of his riſing Abilities, had ridiculed the Manufactures at *Segovia* as Labours, which would conſume the Money of *Spain*, without producing any Advantage; he was therefore obliged to take the firſt Opportunity of demonſtrating the Falſity of this Notion, as it ſtood him likewiſe in great ſtead to keep up the Spirits of the Manufacturers, and by ſo popular an Act to revive the *Spaniſh* Courage, and as it were to rouſe the ſleepy Genius of that indolent People.

However it was, the Cares of the Duke were for the preſent attended with general Approbation; and his Catholick Majeſty, to ſhew his entire Confidence in him, added ſomewhat to his Dignities. The number however of his Enemies were not leſſened, and tho' Malice and Envy might be ſilent, yet were they far from being aſleep. On the other hand, no body knew this better than the Duke; no body felt it more; no body could diſguiſe it leſs. Perhaps this was his greateſt Weakneſs, tho' attributed to his Magnanimity and Contempt of Danger. Among other Inſtances of his Freedom of Speech, it may not be amiſs to mention one. The Marquis *Grimaldi*, who had now no Office, was one day in the Duke's Apartment, when he was in a melancholy Humour. The Marquis eaſily perceived it, and could not help gratifying his Ill-will towards him, ſo far as to ſpeak to him thus: "You ſeem "to be much out of order, my Lord Duke, per-"haps you feel ſome Approaches of the Gout." "Perhaps, return'd the Duke fiercely, I do, per-"haps I do not; whichever way it is, what is it "to you? Mind your own Concerns, try if you "can ſettle that crack'd Brain of yours, and when "you have done that, teach a little Common Senſe

" to your Countrymen, I ſhall not then be afraid of " Gouts, or of Enemies; but their Follies are, I " confeſs, great and dangerous enough to make a " wiſe Man afraid." The Marquis was thunder-ſtruck, and not caring to converſe with a Man in a Paſſion, very prudently withdrew into the next Room, carrying the Duke's Caution deeply engraven in his Mind. It was not to him alone, that the Duke expreſſed himſelf with ſo little Reſerve. He did not diſguiſe his Sentiments even at his Table, where he often ſpoke in ſuch Terms of the King of *Great Britain*, and of the *Britiſh* Nation, as it would be by no means prudent for me to repeat. The reaſon of this was, becauſe he always look'd upon *Britain* to be the moſt dangerous Enemy to *Spain*, and at the ſame time an Enemy without a Cauſe. He thought that ſo large a ſhare of the *Spaniſh* Treaſures as went yearly into *Britain*, deſerv'd ſome Condeſcenſion, and he could never be perſuaded, that the Treaty of *Hanover* was concluded with a proper Regard to the Intereſts of *Spain*. He would often ſay, that the Treaty of *Vienna* was really for the Benefit of *Great Britain*, that it abſolutely divorced *Spain* from *France*, and introduced a Coldneſs towards *Holland*; ſo that the Bulk of her Commerce muſt of conſequence have fallen into the hands of the *Engliſh*, with whom it was their Intereſt to be well.———Such were the Dreams of *Ripperda*, which prompted him to thoſe Exceſſes, that coſt him afterwards ſo dear. For the *Britiſh* Miniſter, as it was his Duty, tranſmitted juſt Accounts to his Court of all the Duke did and ſaid; which increaſed the Differences between the Nations, and iſſued at laſt in actual Hoſtilities.

The Duke *de Ripperda*, notwithſtanding the Diſputes between the Courts of *Spain* and *Great Britain*, kept up a ſtrict Intimacy and a great Appearance of ſincere Friendſhip with the Miniſter before-mentioned; inſomuch, that we are told, his Enemies

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ſpoke of his Converſations with that Gentleman, as of things derogatory to that Fidelity the Duke owed his Catholick Majeſty, and that Gratitude which it became him to preſerve towards ſo good and kind a Maſter. To obviate theſe Objections, the Duke behaved, during the latter part of his Miniſtry, more coldly towards his Friend in publick, yet without leſſening any thing of that Eſteem which he had always profeſſed towards him. This induced him to ſpeak freely to that Gentleman on the head of *Gibraltar*; the Poſſeſſion of which, he knew the whole *Spaniſh* Nation ſo ardently wiſhed for, that nothing could prevent their attempting to regain it by Force, in caſe it could not be obtained by Treaty. That an Expedition of this conſequence might not be undertaken without a probable Aſſurance of Succeſs, the Duke *de Ripperda* began to apply himſelf to the negotiating a Treaty of Alliance with certain Powers in the North, intending to follow the Steps of his Predeceſſor *Alberoni*, and in the midſt of a general Confuſion, to take all the Advantages imaginable, that might enable him to act in favour of *Spain*. Something of this ſort he hinted to the *Britiſh* Miniſter, either out of Confidence, or with a political View. However it was, ſuch a Rumour was quickly ſpread of the Duke's great and dangerous Deſigns, as alarmed moſt of the Courts of *Europe*, and occaſioned ſuch a Variety of Armaments, as ſtartled the moſt conſiderate among the *Spaniſh* Counſellors; who, ſeeing however no hopes of deſtroying the Duke's Credit with their Catholick Majeſties, contented themſelves with publiſhing their Suſpicions to the People, whereby they thought themſelves ſecure of raiſing ſuch a Ferment, as ſhould one time or other prove fatal to this over-grown Miniſter.

The Miniſter himſelf helped forward his Enemies in their Deſigns, by ſome ill-judged Meaſures, eſpecially at ſo critical a Seaſon. He would needs

perſuade the *Spaniſh* Grandees to exert their Influence over the common People, in order to procure not only an Amendment of ſome particular Cuſtoms, but alſo an entire Change in their manner of Living. He preſſed them on the head of the new Manufactures at *Segovia*; which, tho' at this time wholly managed by Foreigners, he wiſhed, in the next Age, might be carried on by the *Spaniards* themſelves, and by them only. He obſerved the great Deficiencies that every where appeared in the Arts of Huſbandry and Gardening; he inſiſted on the ancient Fruitfulneſs of *Spain*, the mighty Wealth of the *Mooriſh* Kingdom of *Grenada*, the Poſſibility of doing ſomething of the like nature even in theſe times; the Conſequences of which he ſhewed would be of inexpreſſible Benefit to the *Spaniards*, would change the whole face of their Affairs at home and abroad, and raiſe ſuch a real Power, as would neceſſarily make its Enemies tremble. The *Grandees*, far from reliſhing his Propoſals, which they judged wild and impracticable, inſtilled into the Minds of the People an incurable Averſion for the Politicks of the Duke *de Ripperda*, whom they repreſented as a Man diſaffected to the *Spaniſh* Nation, one who grudged them their Privileges, and who was for reducing all Degrees of People, Gentlemen as well as others, to a manual Labour of ſome ſort, which was no better than degrading them into Artificers, or Peaſants. Theſe Repreſentations had in time their Effects. For the *Spaniards* being extremely bigotted to their own Notions in all things, could not bear with any patience to hear of puniſhing Lazineſs, or putting an end to that Cuſtom of Walking and Chatting in publick Places a great part of the Day, which is in uſe, even among the meaneſt of the People.

One may in ſome meaſure excuſe the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Zeal in this Affair, by conſidering the Circumſtances himſelf was in, and the deplorable Con-

Condition of the *Spaniſh* Nation. He knew that want of Succeſs would ruin him, how right ſoever his Intentions were; he ſaw that *Spain* could not carry into execution the Projects he had formed, if her Affairs were not put upon ſome better foot than that in which they then ſtood. Self-Preſervation therefore, and a Deſire of diſcharging his Duty, both led him to this Meaſure, which was chiefly wrong in its being ſo ill-timed. A War ſeemed to be on the point of breaking out, while the Miniſter talked of ſuch Reformations, as could be only made in a time of profound Peace. This was improved by thoſe who did not love him, ſo as to do him hurt; and the ſame Perſons found means alſo to miſrepreſent other parts of his Conduct, which, tho' they made an ill appearance in their Accounts of them, were not in themſelves either criminal or abſurd.

For inſtance, he had framed a Scheme for a general Peace, which was alſo to be perpetual; ſo that the Arms of the *European* Powers might be ſo employed, as to encreaſe their common Grandeur. He ſhewed part of this Project to his Friends, who were extremely charmed with it, notwithſtanding they knew very well, that it was not at all feazible; nay, the Duke knew it himſelf, and when he ſpoke of it, was wont to call it his *Political Romance*. Thoſe, who hated him, would needs have this the Effects of ſome Diſorder or Diſtraction of Mind; they repreſented it as an enthuſiaſtical half-witted Scheme, and were very deſirous of concluding from thence, that the Duke *de Ripperda* declined in his Capacity, and was no longer fit for Affairs of State. Theſe Notions were not of a nature proper to be publickly ſpoken of, and therefore his Enemies contented themſelves with dark Hints and diſtant Obſervations, knowing that theſe would be quickly ſo canvaſſed by the numerous Politicians in *Madrid*, as to raiſe ſuch a Diſturbance

ſturbance as they wanted. Theſe things could not be conducted with ſuch Secrecy, but that they reached the Ear of the Miniſter, who being already out of humour with various Diſappointments, loſt all Patience when he diſcovered theſe Contrivances, and expreſſed himſelf with ſuch Vehemence, as did not ſuit very well either with his high Quality, or the Character he ſought to ſupport of a conſummate Politician.

There are certain times in which a Man's Genius ſeems to deſert him, and to leave him entirely void of that Penetration, Strength of Mind, and Faculty of acting properly, with which he is at other times endued, thereby laying him open to his Enemies, and making him a ſort of a paſſive Author of his own Ruin. Such times may be obſerved in the Lives of moſt Miniſters; and if I may be indulged a Conjecture, they uſually follow on their reaching the Top and Pinnacle of Preferment. For as there is a conſtant Revolution in Nature, it follows, that when a Man is once at the Top of the Wheel, it cannot be long before he is rolled down again. A proper Caution this to the Great, and eſpecially to great Miniſters, who are of all others the moſt apt to grow dizzy with good Fortune, and to forget the ſlippery Foundation, on which even in their happieſt Hours they ſtand.

Among the moſt formidable of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Enemies, were the following Perſons of Diſtinction, *viz.* the Marquis *Grimaldi*, of whoſe Diſpoſition we have ſaid ſomething before; he had been the King's moſt favour'd Miniſter for a long Tract of Time, and yet upon pretence of an Indiſpoſition he laboured under for ſome time, was removed to make way for the Duke; this filled him with Spleen, at the ſame time that it afforded him great leiſure to gratify it. He had a ſtrict Eye on the Miniſter's Motions, and made it the buſineſs of his Life to make and to collect ſuch Obſervations

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on the Duke's minuteſt Actions, as might render him ridiculous or odious. The Marquis *de Caſtellar*, who had loſt the Office of Secretary at War, aſſiſted him in this Affair; he was proud, peeviſh and paſſionate, but accuſtomed to Buſineſs, and had many Dependants. M. *de Ariaſa* had loſt the Charge of Superintendant of the Finances, and as he was a Man of Intrigue, he dedicated his Thoughts and his Endeavours to the Service of this Party. M. *Patinho*, having been deprived of his Poſts of Secretary of State for the Marine and for the *Indies*, hated the Duke heartily. M. *Larbaro*, who had been Superintendant of the Tobacco, and two or three other Men of Buſineſs, who had been turned out of important and lucrative Employments, were in the ſame Sentiments; and all together they conſulted privately how to bring Matters to ſuch a Criſis, as that the King ſhould be obliged to part with his Favourite. To this end, they diſtorted many things, and invented more, talk'd of them to each other in publick calmly, as if they had been ordinary Articles of News. By this means they engaged a great part of the Inhabitants of *Madrid* in their Faction; eſpecially, as was before obſerved, when they alledged, that the Duke *de Ripperda* intended to hinder them from ſleeping after Dinner, and loitering away the Evenings in Places of publick Reſort.

The Duke of *Wharton* was at this time at *Madrid*, under the Title of Duke of *Northumberland*, and adorned with the Garter, beſtowed upon him by the *Pretender*; it was well known he had no other Buſineſs there than to promote his Maſter's Intereſts, and that he was privately encouraged, tho' he was not publickly admitted at the Court. There were alſo three Men of War in the Ports of *Spain*, which ſailed from *Peterſburgh*, fitted out by the Friends of the ſame Perſon; and the Duke *de Ripperda* was not only in the Secret of theſe Tranſ-

Tranſactions, but ſpoke of them openly, and with an Air of Haughtineſs and Threatning. His Friends thought this proceeded from his great Zeal; but his Enemies gave quite another Turn to the Affair. They aſſerted, that his raſh and warm Speeches were not in reality the Effects of Paſſion, but of Premeditation, and that under colour of inſulting the King of *Great Britain* and the *Britiſh* Nation, he made uſe of ſuch Expreſſions before the *Britiſh* Miniſter, or before ſuch as he knew would report what he ſaid, as tended to a Diſcovery of the ſecret Deſigns of *Spain*. They made a kind of Catalogue of his Indiſcretions, beginning with the Story we have before mentioned of his affronting King *George* at *Vienna*, in a Converſation after a great Entertainment he had given, and ending with many Slips of the ſame ſort of a later Date. As for example, his ſaying on the Treaty of *Hanover*, *Well! well! we ſhall teach theſe little Gentlemen to make Treaties* (meaning the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Pruſſia*;) and his ſaying frequently at Dinner, that Cardinal *Alberoni* made a falſe Step in ſending that Fleet to *Sicily*, which he ſhould have ſent to *England*. It muſt be owned, that theſe Reflections were not altogether without Foundation. Yet we cannot condemn the Duke *de Ripperda* without paſſing a Cenſure on a certain illuſtrious Perſon at *Vienna*, who talked much in the ſame Language, converſed with and careſſed the Duke of *Wharton* while he was there, procured for him a Recommendation from the Baron *de Ripperda* to the Court of *Spain*, and gave him one himſelf to Count *Konigſegg*, his Imperial Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *Madrid*. Theſe Reflections however anſwered the ends of thoſe who made them, and fixed Impreſſions on ſome who had been formerly the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Friends. Amongſt the other cauſes of his Fall we muſt not omit his ſhewing leſs concern for Religion than he was wont to do. This is a great mark of Weak-

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neſs in a *Prime Miniſter*. A Man void of Piety is commonly void of Principles, at leaſt no Man can be certain what they are on which ſuch a Politician acts. This begets a general Diſtruſt among the thinking ſort of People, a Faction from the Clergy, and a general Ill-will from the Commons, who never like Men of prophane Diſpoſitions. And this was particularly true in *Spain*.

The Iſſue of all theſe Artifices was, that a certain Jeſuit, who had a great Intereſt with their Majeſties, was perſuaded into a firm Belief of the Duke's Treachery and Guilt, and he found Ways and Means to inſinuate it ſo dextrouſly to their Majeſties under colour of defending the Miniſter againſt the Crimes objected to him, that they alſo began at length to doubt of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Fidelity. The Reverend Father inſinuated, that it was currently reported, that the Miniſter betrayed all their Majeſties Councils to the King of *Great Britain*'s Ambaſſador. That at his heart he was an Enemy to the *Spaniſh* Nation, and ſought to deſtroy them by his Intrigues. That he made free with a great part of the four millions of *Pieces* of *Eight*, which had been remitted to him while he was at *Vienna*, with many other things of the ſame nature. This Accuſation was followed by a loud Outcry of the People againſt the Miniſter for the ſame Offences, which the Cabal took pains to ſpirit up, and found a Method to make their Majeſties Ear-witneſſes of it. Such is the Dexterity of theſe ſort of private Plots in *Spain*, and ſuch the Arts by which a Miniſter guilty, or not guilty, may be brought into Danger and Diſgrace.

Upon this a Cabinet-Council was called in the Abſence of the Duke *de Ripperda*, wherein the Catholick King took notice of the Reaſons which induced him to confer ſo many and ſo great Offices on his preſent Miniſter. He ſpoke much of his Abilities, his Succeſs at *Vienna*, and his indefatigable

gable Diſcharge of his Duty, in all reſpects, ſince his Return to *Spain*. Then he opened the Inſinuations he had heard, the Knowledge he had of the People's Diſcontent, and his own ſtrong Deſire to give them all imaginable Satisfaction, without doing Injuſtice to the Duke. The Miniſters highly applauded the King's Wiſdom and Moderation; they ſpoke very tenderly of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Errors, and M. *Patinho* called them only Miſtakes. They then remarked, that the publick Safety might ſuffer from the Duke's remaining any longer at the head of their Councils, after it was known that he had given ſome grounds to ſuſpect his Fidelity, with regard to Diſcoveries made to the *Britiſh* Miniſter. That to preſerve the Honour of the Crown, and to pacify a diſcontented Nation, it was very fit, and even abſolutely neceſſary, that he ſhould be immediately removed from his Poſt of Prime Miniſter, and put to juſtify himſelf on the head of Peculation, revealing the King's Secrets, and carrying on Intrigues to the prejudice of the Crown of *Spain*. That he ſhould not be treated with the leaſt Severity, unleſs he was plainly proved guilty; and that on the other hand, if he appeared to be innocent, his Majeſty ſhould not only declare him ſo, but alſo reſtore him to his former Power. This was calculated to work upon the King's Temper, who, as he is a Prince of great Mildneſs as well as ſtrict Juſtice, would never have lent a patient Ear to any Propoſals of a harſher nature. Thus was the Fate of the Duke *de Ripperda* decided without a Hearing; and as his Promotion came without his ſeeking, or even knowing of it, ſo his Fall was equally ſudden and unforeſeen. Miſerable Fate of Courtiers, who riſe they know not how, and ſink they know not why!

This Reſolution was no ſooner taken than it was executed: the Duke *de Ripperda* had an Apartment in the Palace; and as ſoon as the Council

was

was broke up, the King ſent thither to inform him that he had ſomewhat to communicate to him. The Duke, who had not the leaſt Suſpicion of the King's entertaining any Doubts of his Conduct, repaired with great Alacrity to the Royal Apartment. He no ſooner camy thither, than his Majeſty addreſſed him in the following Terms: "It "is a long time, Sir, ſince I thought myſelf truly "happy, in having found a Man able and worthy "to govern my great Dominions, which Cha- "racter, till very lately, I conceived to belong to "you. But within theſe few days I have receiv'd "Accounts not to be neglected of your Miſmanage- "ments and ill Conduct. I ſhall not trouble you "with the Repetition of all I have been told. I will "content myſelf for the preſent with informing "you, that you are charged, amongſt other things, "with embezzling a great part of the Sums remit- "ted to you at *Vienna*. If you are innocent (as "from the bottom of my Heart I hope you are) "you will be able to make it appear, and be aſſu- "red that this will be moſt agreeable to me, who, "with great Reluctancy bring myſelf to tell you, "that I muſt thank you for the Services you have "done me for the preſent, tho' when you have "juſtified yourſelf, I may, and probably ſhall, "imploy you again."

At firſt, the Duke *de Ripperda* was ſo much aſtoniſhed, that he loſt the uſe of Speech. But recovering by degrees, and reſuming all his natural Vehemence, he anſwered the King thus: "It is "impoſſible for me to doubt of your Majeſty's "Kindneſs and Affection, conſidering the many "and great Proofs I have received of it; neither "ought I to be ſurprized, that I have many and "potent Enemies, your Majeſty's Favours have "been too conſpicuous not to procure them, and "how great ſoever my own Innocence may be, I "had no cauſe to believe, that it could defend me

"from

" from them, ſince I have long known, that your
" Majeſty, who is the juſteſt Prince upon Earth,
" have alſo ſome who do not love you. This it is
" true I always thought; and indeed I think ſo
" ſtill, that Clamour ſhall never overbear me, or
" the bold Aſſertions of my Enemies confound me.
" They muſt object Facts, and Facts are always
" capable of Proof on one ſide as well as the other.
" Your Majeſty in your great Goodneſs, hath been
" particularly pleaſed to mention the Sums remitted
" to me at *Vienna*. Now I hope, that my affirming
" myſelf innocent in this reſpect, will for the pre-
" ſent balance whatever my Enemies may have ſaid.
" As to the thing itſelf, it is certainly capable of
" being ſet in ſuch a light, as will fully ſatisfy
" your Majeſty. Let a time be fixed for this, and
" if I do not give your Majeſty the moſt convincing
" Evidence of my Integrity, let me bear the utmoſt
" Weight of your Majeſty's Diſpleaſure. But let
" me not be ruined meerly becauſe I have been ſo
" happy as for a time to enjoy your Majeſty's Con-
" fidence. Let not this be my Crime, leſt it ſhould
" be more fatal to your Majeſty than to me. If
" your Servants are to be removed, by falſe and
" general Accuſations, theſe will never be wanting,
" while there are ſo many ambitious Men about
" yours, as there is about every Court. Your Coun-
" cils will be divided, your Meaſures become fluc-
" tuating, and all *Europe* will diſcern that Diffe-
" rence in your Majeſty's Conduct, which I had ra-
" ther you ſhould conceive, than I deſcribe." The King was very much moved by what the Duke *de Ripperda* had ſaid, and would probably have continued him in the Adminiſtration, if his Enemies had not ſo violently interpoſed, and repreſented the Uneaſineſs of the People to be ſuch, as could no otherwiſe be removed, than by diſplacing the Duke.

For this reaſon, his Majeſty would not ſuffer the Duke *de Ripperda* to leave his Preſence in any kind

of

of Uncertainty. "I know, added his Majesty, "that you have many and powerful Enemies, so "many and so powerful, that I find myself con- "strain'd to tell you, that you can be no longer "Prime Minister; all your other Places however "you may enjoy, and remain secure of my Pro- "tection." "Is it so? returned the Duke; then I "know what Measures I have to take, since your "Majesty has thought me unworthy of one Place, "I think myself unworthy of them all; permit me "therefore to resign them to your Majesty, from "whom I received them, and to have your leave "to retire into a Monastery, till such time as your "Majesty may have leisure to enter into the Parti- "culars of my Administration, and either to con- "demn or justify my Conduct." His Catholick Majesty, who did by no means expect so much Firmness in the Duke, received his Proposition with Surprize and Regret; he endeavour'd to persuade the Duke, that it was not for his own Interest, or for his Majesty's Honour, that he should quit all his Dignities in so abrupt a manner, that his Enemies would not only triumph upon it, but also pretend to find therein ample Proofs of his Guilt. The Duke however was proof against all these gentle Remon- strances, he kept close to his first Resolution, and having besought his Majesty to remember, that he had solemnly promised him his Protection, he with- drew from the Palace, and went to the House of a private Gentleman his Friend.

There he gave a loose to his Sorrows, lamenting the Miseries attending a Court-life, and the Uncer- tainty of that Grandeur, to which a Man of Spi- rit naturally aspires. He comforted himself how- ever with the Thoughts of covering himself from the Insults of his Inferiours, by retiring from all the World, and injoying in a religious Solitude the Pleasure of contemning those Vanities, by which

hitherto he, as well as the reſt of the World, had been deceived. His Friend, tho' he was a Man of infinitely leſs Genius, yet having better Notions of things than he, in conſequence of his being leſs concern'd, took the liberty of repreſenting to the Duke, that his Behaviour had leſs of Nothing than of Reſolution; that it was well enough in a Woman to quit the World, when ſhe had loſt her Reputation in it, but that it was altogether unworthy of a great Miniſter, who had been long converſant in the Affairs of Princes, and who had governed the *Spaniſh* Dominions with ſuch an unlimited Authority. He exhorted him to collect his Spirits, to diveſt himſelf of thoſe Deſires, which ſuited only the Poſt he had loſt, to deſcend again to his former Temper, to remember the pleaſant Hours he had ſpent before he became a Miniſter, and to perſuade himſelf, that a Man was not therefore miſerable, becauſe he had no longer a whole Nation for his Domeſticks. He ſhewed him the Impiety of pretending to dedicate himſelf to the Service of God, meerly becauſe he had been thought unworthy to ſerve a King; and he expoſed the Folly of ſeeking Eaſe in a Retreat for ever, when the unbearable Evil, which occaſioned it, was in itſelf temporary, and would of courſe wear off, whenever he had Courage enough to conſider it. On the whole therefore he prevailed ſo far as to induce him to change his firſt Reſolution, and to content himſelf with going to his own Houſe at *Segovia*, till he ſhould ſee what Turn things would take, what Intereſt his Enemies had with his Majeſty, and what Remains of Affection ſtill belonged to himſelf. At another time, the Duke *de Ripperda* would ſcarce have born Advice given him in ſo free a way; but now Misfortune had a little tamed his Spirit, and he was got without the Atmoſphere of a Court, he thought and ſpoke in a milder way, the Deluſion which

which hung about him began to diſappear; and the Duke *de Ripperda*, who a little before would ſcarce turn his eyes upon an ordinary Perſon, began to be of Opinion, that there was no great Difference between him and a private Man; that there was no eſſential Dignity in Title, and that the having been Great, was by no means a piece of Happineſs.

When the Duke arrived at his Houſe at *Segovia*, he found all things there in the utmoſt Confuſion. His Servants appeared not only dejected and afflicted, but in a manner ſenſeleſs, and without Motion. Inſtead of receiving their Maſter as they were wont to do, with all poſſible Expreſſions of Joy and ſincere Affection, they either avoided looking upon him at all, or as ſoon as they caſt their eyes on him, ſtood ſtock ſtill and melted into Tears. The Duke was not ſo ſtruck with this, as to bear a part in this univerſal Scene of Sorrow; on the contrary it awakened his Spirits, and enabled him to behave with great Firmneſs and Decency. He ſpoke to each of his Domeſticks tenderly, and with the Air rather of a Parent than of a Maſter; he put them in mind that theſe Tranſports of Grief were equally injurious to themſelves and to him, at the ſame time that they were in a great meaſure ill founded. It is true, ſaid he, I am no longer Prime Miniſter, but I am ſtill Duke *de Ripperda*, and have done nothing unbecoming my Character, or the Poſt to which the King my Maſter raiſed me. We were all happy together here at *Segovia*, before I was Miniſter; what ſhall hinder our being ſo again? Perhaps I have been too little attentive to the Affairs of my Family; if ſo, I bleſs God for having thus recalled me to my Duty.

Perceiving that this made little Impreſſion on his Servants, he paſſed through them to the Ducheſs's Apartment, where he found her in a State little

different from Diſtraction; ſometimes ſhe lay on her Bed, as if ſhe had loſt her Senſes; preſently afterwards ſhe ſtarted up and ran up and down the Room, clapping her Hands and tearing her Hair. Then ſhe ſate down and curſed the *Spaniſh* Court, her Huſband's Ambition, her own Folly, and the Arts of the Jeſuits, by which *Holland*, that Land of Liberty and Peace, as ſhe now call'd it, was firſt render'd hateful to them. The Duke *de Ripperda* ſuffered theſe Tranſports for a time, till the Violence of her Sorrow was ſomewhat ſpent, and then he expoſtulated with her on the Folly of her Behaviour. He told her, that he retired to *Segovia*, purely that he might enjoy the Comfort of her Converſation. That in the midſt of ſo many and ſo great Misfortunes, he ſtood in need of Conſolation, and was very unfit to conſole others. Yet ſuch, continued he, is my Fate, that I muſt not only bear my own Misfortunes, but I muſt alſo labour to make the very ſight of them bearable to thoſe that are about me. Conſider, Madam, cry'd he, how great Injury your Sighs and Tears will unqueſtionably do me; no body doubts, that the Duke *de Ripperda* hath been deprived, by the Arts of his Enemies, of the firſt Poſt in *Spain*; but you will leave it out of doubt that he was not deprived of it, till he deſerved no longer to keep it; his Wife, the World will ſay, muſt know his Affairs the beſt of any body, and her exceſſive Affliction is a Demonſtration of his Guilt. Believe me, Madam, this they will ſay, how little ſoever I deſerve it, and therefore let me conjure you, to act with more Prudence; perhaps, what I am going to ſay may conduce to this; tho' I have loſt the ſupreme Direction of Affairs, his Majeſty is ſo far from believing all that my Enemies have told him, that he has condeſcended to ſollicite me to keep ſome of my Employments, and of theſe nothing can de-

prive

prive me but my own choice. Ah! my dear Lord, cry'd the Ducheſs, reſign them immediately. Let us! let us! once more be free, let us eſcape out of a Country, where Power is entirely directed by Will, where we know not to-day what we ſhall poſſeſs to-morrow, where Abilities cannot ſecure Preferment, or Innocence Protection. O! that I had never been a Ducheſs. O! that the Vanities of this World had never been my Delight. See! my dear Lord! ſee! how empty they are! And let us, as ſoon as it is poſſible, retire ſomewhere to enjoy true Repoſe. There is nothing, ſaid the Duke, I wiſh more. Yet, whatever we do, let us do it with Dignity and Decency. The Ducheſs being by this time brought a little to herſelf, they ſpent the Evening more agreeably, and the whole Family began to recover its wonted Peace.

The next Morning after Breakfaſt, the Duke *de Ripperda* retired to his Cloſet, there to meditate on the Meaſures he ſhould take. What paſſed in his Thoughts it is impoſſible to ſay. All we know is, that when he came from thence to Dinner, if he did not appear chearful, he ſeemed at leaſt ſerene, and much leſs dejected than when he came from *Madrid*. This State of things did not continue long; for in the Afternoon he received the following Billet from the Marquis *de la Paz*.

SIR,

'THE King, our Maſter, having thought proper to admit the Repreſentation your Excellency made yeſterday, as to your being diſcharged from the Employments his Majeſty had confer'd upon your Excellency; he hath thought fit to gratify you with a Penſion of three thouſand Piſtoles *per Annum*, until ſuch time as his Majeſty ſhall again employ your Excellency in his

'Service, in ſuch a manner as to him ſhall ſeem 'proper. This is that of which I am to inform 'your Excellency, by his Majeſty's Orders, that 'you might know his Royal Reſolution on the 'one Affair and on the other.

I am, Yours, &c.

From the Palace,
May 14, 1726.

John Baptiſt de Orendayne.

As ſoon as the Duke received this Letter, he began to put his Affairs in order, being fully reſolved to put himſelf under the Protection of Colonel *Stanhope* the *Britiſh* Miniſter, that he might be ſafe from the Rage of the People; which, as ſome Friends he ſtill had about Court, informed him, was blown up and puſhed on by his Enemies, that they might effectually deſtroy him, without appearing themſelves the immediate Authors of his Deſtruction. This was a Meaſure by no means approved by the Ducheſs; her Advice was, that he ſhould retire to a Convent; but as this never was to the Taſte of M. *de Ripperda*, he would not vouchſafe ſo much as to take it into Conſideration. When he had adjuſted his Affairs, and taken care of his Papers, he went to the Houſe of M. *Vandermeer*, Ambaſſador from the States-General, and humbly beſought him to carry him in his Coach to Colonel *Stanhope*'s, the only Place wherein, as he apprehended, he could be ſafe from the Populace, who had inſulted ſeveral of his Domeſticks, and had openly threatned to pull himſelf in pieces.

The *Dutch* Ambaſſador could not refuſe this ſmall Favour to his Countryman, he comply'd with his Deſire, and convey'd him immediately to Colonel *Stanhope*'s Houſe. When they came thither, they found that Miniſter had been in the Country a Fortnight, and had no thoughts of returning to Town unleſs any extraordinary Buſineſs required

required his Preſence. This chagrin'd the Duke not a little. However M. *Vandermeer* adviſed him to ſtay where he was, and to expect that Miniſter's Return to the City. The Duke readily complied with this, and believing himſelf to be now in perfect Security, began to enter into a Conference with M. *Vandermeer* on the Subject of his own Diſgrace. A melancholy Topick for a Miniſter, and yet a Topick of which moſt fallen Miniſters are particularly fond. He took notice of his Majeſty's Converſation with him the day of his Diſmiſſion, he inſiſted very emphatically on the pain it coſt his Majeſty to part with him, he ſpoke in very high Terms of his own Services, and of the Facility with which he could diſprove all the Charges of his Enemies. He concluded all, by producing the Letter of the Marquis *de la Paz*, by which it appeared that his Majeſty had granted him a Penſion of three thouſand Piſtoles a Year. The *Dutch* Miniſter heard him very patiently; and when he had done ſpeaking, "I am, ſaid he, more ſurpriſed than e-"ver at the Terror and Confuſion I have ſeen your "Excellency under; what Grounds, what Cauſe "could there be for it, conſidering things are in "the Situation you mention? The Populace never "loſt all Senſe of Duty, ſo far as to attempt any "thing againſt a Perſon under his Majeſty's Roof. "And there, for aught I can perceive, you ſtill "might have been, if you had ſo thought fit. As "it is, I would have you take all the care you can "of your Safety; and at the ſame time moderate "your Reſentment ſo far, as not to help out the "Malice of your Enemies, by any indiſcreet Act "of your own."

While they were ſpeaking, M. *Stanhope* came in by meer Accident, and expreſſing his Surprize at the ſight of the Duke and M. *Vandermeer*; the former gave him very few Words on account of

the Reaſons which had brought him thither. The firſt Queſtion M. *Stanhope* aſked was, whether his Excellency had ſtill any Employment, or was in any manner whatſoever in the Service of his Catholick Majeſty? The Duke reply'd in the negative, aſſuring him, that he had reſigned all his Employments into his Majeſty's hands, and that his Majeſty had accepted the Reſignation. M. *Stanhope* then aſked, if he was of Opinion the King of *Spain* believed him guilty of any Malverſation in his Offices, for which he intended to proſecute him; in which caſe he would not ſo much as converſe with him, much leſs afford him his Protection. To this the Duke returned, that this was ſo far from being the Caſe, that his Majeſty had ſince been pleaſed to grant him a Penſion of three thouſand Piſtoles *per Annum*, as a Recompence for his Services. At the ſame time that he ſaid this, he preſented M. *Stanhope* with the Letter from the Marquis *de la Paz*. When M. *Stanhope* had read it, he aſked the Duke what it was he was afraid of, or why he thought it neceſſary to put himſelf under his Protection? "Why, reply'd the Duke in ſome heat, "becauſe I apprehend my Life to be in great dan-"ger; my Enemies, though they cannot perſuade "the King to believe me guilty, have notwith-"ſtanding got the Mob to think ſo, inſomuch, "that the ſame day I received this Letter, they "inſulted ſome of my Domeſticks, and threatned "to come this night to plunder my Houſe and "murder me. Judge then, Sir, if I had not "ſome Reaſon to think of finding ſome place of "Safety; and judge too, whether you have any "Reaſon in being offended at my making choice "of your Houſe."

The *Britiſh* Miniſter, that he might ſecure himſelf from all Cenſure in this troubleſome Affair, engaged the Duke *de Ripperda* to ſend the Secretary of

of State a distinct Account of the Motives which induced him to take shelter in his Excellency's House. The next Morning, being the 16th of *May*, M. *Stanhope* went early to Court, and had a particular Conference with his Majesty, wherein he acquainted him with all that had passed between himself and the Duke *de Ripperda*. At this Audience, his Majesty declared he was very well satisfied with M. *Stanhope*'s Conduct, tho' he thought he had reason to be offended with the Step the Duke *de Ripperda* had taken of sheltering himself in the House of a foreign Minister. His Majesty added, that the Duke had demanded a Passport, in order to retire to *Holland*; but that this would not be granted him, until he had restor'd a great many Papers of Consequence belonging to his Majesty, which were in his power. The King desir'd that M. *Stanhope* would give him his word, that the Duke *de Ripperda* should not retire from his House without notice given to the Court, before a List of the Papers just now mentioned was made, and he had discovered where those Papers were. To which M. *Stanhope* agreed.

On the Return of the *British* Minister to his House, he gave the Duke *de Ripperda* an exact Account of all that had passed, assured him, that he might now set his mind at rest, and be satisfied that he should enjoy in his House Security and Peace, till such time as he could settle his Affairs, and restore to his Majesty the Papers of State in his power, for which the King would send the next day; and that except on this head, he did not perceive that his Majesty intended to subject his Excellency to any Inquiries. The Duke thank'd him heartily for the pains he had taken, and promised him eternal Gratitude. In the midst of this Conversation, came a Servant to acquaint M. *Stanhope*, that there was an Officer from the Court below

low ſtairs, who had brought him a Letter from the Marquis *de la Paz*. M. *Stanhope* immediately went to ſpeak to that Officer, and received from him the following Billet.

SIR,

'THE King is perfectly ſatisfied with the Promiſe your Excellency was pleaſed to give his 'Majeſty on the head of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s 'Security in your Houſe; but as all the Precautions 'your Excellency can poſſibly take, may not be 'ſufficient to prevent the Follies and Extravagancies he is capable of committing, his Majeſty, for 'greater Security, hath determined to poſt certain 'Parties of his Guards at the Avenues, which lead 'to your Excellency's Houſe, to prevent the Effects of any Irregularities the Duke may commit, 'in ſpight of your Excellency's ſage and prudent 'Advice. His Majeſty hath not the leaſt Diſtruſt 'in this Affair of your Excellency; but does this 'purely to prevent Accidents. This is what I am 'commanded to acquaint you with, that you may 'on your part entertain no Doubts of the Royal 'Confidence.' *I am*, &c.

The *Britiſh* Miniſter was not a little offended at this extraordinary Step, which he conceived to be an Infringement of the Privileges due to his Character. He went however inſtantly back to the Duke *de Ripperda*, and gave him an Account of the Contents of the Letter he had received. Upon this the Duke loſt all Temper, and riſing out of his Chair, as if he had abſolutely parted with his Senſes, cried out; "How? What is this that theſe "People mean? Firſt, they will have your Pro- "miſe, that I ſhall not eſcape; then they ſet "Guards. What, have I been guilty of High- "Treaſon? If I have, why don't they charge

"me

" me with it? What ſort of acting is this, to uſe " a Man as a Criminal, not only before he is con- " victed, but before he is accuſed?" M. *Stanhope* was obliged to make uſe of all his Rhetorick to quiet the Duke, to engage him to ſit down, and to reſtrain him from going to the Windows, and abuſing the Guards. With much ado he effected this; but he had hardly done it before he found himſelf in worſe Circumſtances.

The Ducheſs of *Ripperda* burſt into the Room without Ceremony, or the ſmalleſt Reſpect to Decency. She had been informed, that her Huſband's Enemies reſolved to proſecute him to the utmoſt. This ſent her to the Ambaſſador's Houſe, where ſhe behaved like a Creature diſtracted. Not content with railing at the Court of *Spain*, curſing the new Miniſtry, and reproaching her Huſband in the groſſeſt Language, ſhe fell to howling, ſtamping, tearing her Hair, and ſhrieking ſo loud, that it was ſome time before the Duke and M. *Stanhope* could poſſibly appeaſe her.

When things were once pacify'd within doors, the *Britiſh* Ambaſſador went abroad, in order to acquaint the reſt of the publick Miniſters reſident at *Madrid*, with the extraordinary Step the Court had thought fit to take, in placing Guards on all the Paſſages leading to his Houſe, that they might take Meaſures in concert for the obtaining proper Satisfaction. In the Evening, the Ambaſſador confer'd again with his Gueſt, and took a great deal of pains to ſhew him, not only the Weakneſs and Folly, but the Danger and ill Conſequence of ſuch violent Proceedings as thoſe were to which he ſeemed inclined. The Duke ſeemed very little moved with all that could be ſaid. He thought himſelf exceſſively injured, ſpoke of the *Spaniſh* Nation in general, as People under great Obligations to him, affirming he had reſtored Order to their

Affairs,

Affairs, and given a Face of Regularity to their Councils and Courts of Juſtice; where before the Great were able to obtain all things, and the meaner ſort nothing. It was indeed owned, that he had done ſome extraordinary things in the Offices he had poſſeſſed, and that by dint of unwea-ry'd Diligence, united to a vigorous Imagination, he had diſcharged with wonderful Exactneſs a Multiplicity of Poſts. Yet ſtill this did not juſtify his accepting them; they were what never before came into the hands of one Man; they were in their own nature incompatible; and if the Duke had been contented with fewer, it would not have only raiſed his Character, but alſo have preſerved his Perſon and his Power; if not from Malice and Envy, at leaſt from Outrage and Inſult. All this he was told, but to very little purpoſe; Vanity and Reſentment poſſeſſed him, inſomuch that he ſpent the whole Day, either in commending himſelf, or in condemning of others; and this, one may venture to ſay, not much to the good Liking of thoſe who were conſtrained to hear him.

On the 18th of the ſame Month, that is of *May* 1726, Mr. *Stanhope* received another Letter from the Marquis *de la Paz* to this purpoſe: "That as "his Majeſty was thoroughly ſatisfied the Duke "*de Ripperda* neither had, or pretended to have "any other Reaſon for taking ſhelter in his Ex-"cellency's Houſe, excepting only his fear of the "Populace; to remove this, and the Scandal gi-"ven by his living under the Protection of a fo-"reign Prince in his Catholick Majeſty's Capital, "the King was willing to take upon himſelf the "care of providing for his Security, with which "he deſired his Excellency to acquaint the Duke; "as alſo that his Majeſty would put him beyond "the reach of Apprehenſion, in caſe he would "conſent to leave his Excellency's Houſe; which,

"from

" from his great Prudence, his Majeſty hoped the " Ambaſſador would think highly convenient."

On the Receipt of this Letter, M. *Stanhope* apply'd himſelf ſeriouſly to his Gueſt; he told him, that as it was in his own power to make choice of what Convent he pleaſed, and as his Catholick Majeſty was ſo good as to engage his Royal Word for his ſafety, all the Ends he thought to anſwer by retiring to his Houſe, would be as effectually anſwered by yielding to the King's Requeſt. But the Duke *de Ripperda*, it ſeems, (tho' he once conſented to it) knew better things. From the time of his Converſion, he had been acquainted with Monks of all Orders; the Conſequence of which was, that he did not care to truſt himſelf with any Order. To ſpeak the truth, he had no great Reaſon. Of all the Convents in *Madrid*, that of the Jeſuits would have been naturally his Choice; he had been the Pupil, Friend, and Protector of that Order. He had given great Sums of Money and Plate to a vaſt value to this very Convent; and yet the Reverend Fathers not only deſerted him in his Diſtreſs, but joined with the fierceſt of his Accuſers, railed at him with exceſſive Bitterneſs, and were at pains to proclaim themſelves as much his Enemies, as ever they had been reputed his Friends. We need not wonder therefore, that the Duke did not make choice of this ſort of Convent, or that, having no reaſon to chuſe it, he was leſs inclined to any other. Neither need we be ſurpriſed, that, after many Hours Expoſtulation, M. *Stanhope* was forced to return the Marquis *de la Paz* for Anſwer, That it was impoſſible to perſuade the Duke to any thing.

It muſt be own'd, that while the Court was thus treating with the Duke and M. *Stanhope*, the Enemies of the fallen Miniſter had excited the Populace to commit exceſſive Diſorders; they ran up

and

and down the Streets in Crouds, reproaching, curſing and threatning the Duke. They abuſed ſuch of his Servants as attempted to ſtir out of doors; they inſulted in their own Houſes ſuch Perſons of Diſtinction, as were ſuppoſed to be his Friends; nay, what was yet more ſcandalous and indecent, they fell upon the poor Ducheſs *de Ripperda* in her Coach, ſtopp'd her, gather'd round her, called her Huſband all the reproachful Names they could deviſe, expreſſed their Joy in his Deſtruction, making ſolemn Vows to come and pillage his Houſe, and to leave him nothing he could call his own in *Spain*. By this Treatment the Ducheſs was prevented from viſiting her Huſband, and the Duke confirmed in his Opinion, that notwithſtanding his Majeſty's Kindneſs and Regard for him, his Enemies would ſpirit up the Mob to deſtroy him, and then throw the Load of their own Malice upon the People.

The Catholick King, preſſed by the Enemies of the Duke *de Ripperda*, refer'd his Caſe to the Conſideration of the Council of *Caſtile*. This Tribunal is the firſt in *Spain*; it was erected by King *Ferdinand* the Third, about the Year 1245. It is compoſed of a Preſident and five Counſellors of State. The Preſident is equal, or rather ſuperiour in Dignity to our Lord Chancellor. When he enters the Council-Chamber, the Counſellors riſe; and when he retires, they accompany him to the Stairs. Whoever has Buſineſs with him, muſt go to him, for he never pays any Viſits. To this Council in a collective Body the Title of Majeſty is given, and in ſpeaking to them, they uſe that of Highneſs. This Council were to a Man no Favourers of the Duke *de Ripperda*; they therefore made an Order for his being taken by force out of the Ambaſſador's Houſe the 21ſt of *May*. Upon which the Marquis *de la Paz* wrote another Letter to M. *Stanhope*, which

which was not delivered however till the 25th, when this Order was put in execution.

After the Council of *Caſtile* had actually made this Order, there remained ſome difficulty in procuring his Catholick Majeſty's Conſent. His Miniſters did not fail to repreſent the mighty Prejudices which might happen to his Affairs, if the Traitor, as they ſtiled the late Miniſter, ſhould continue to brave his Majeſty's Juſtice in the Houſe of a foreign Miniſter, and remain there at liberty to carry on his Intrigues. Amongſt thoſe who puſhed this Advice with the greateſt Vehemence, were ſome who had been the Duke *de Ripperda*'s intimate Friends, whether they deſerted him out of Intereſt or Fear is uncertain; but it is very well known, that of all his Enemies theſe were the moſt implacable; and theſe were they who at laſt perſuaded his Majeſty, that there was an abſolute Neceſſity to ſecure the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Perſon.

A Jeſuit is ſaid to have been the principal Perſon who drew his Majeſty to comply with the Repreſentations made to him on this head; and he did it chiefly by urging this Argument: That the Duke *de Ripperda* was at preſent equally out of the reach of his Majeſty's Juſtice and Mercy; that if on an impartial Inſpection of his Miniſtry, it ſhould appear the Duke had betray'd the Secrets of State, and thereby incur'd capital Puniſhment, his Majeſty would not only loſe his Right of making him an Example, but what was infinitely more precious in his ſight, the Capacity of ſparing, the God-like Power of pardoning ſo great a Criminal; as on the contrary, if he was innocent, his Majeſty would for ever loſe a uſeful and a faithful Servant: At the ſame time that ſo ill an Example would be ſet, as might encourage others of his Majeſty's Miniſters to do what the Duke *de Ripperda* was accuſed of doing, in hopes of meeting a like Protection.

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The Order for his being taken away was executed on the 25th in the following manner. Don *Lewis de Cueillar*, *Alcaid* of the Court, Knight of the Order of St. *James*, was charged with this important Commiſſion. About ſix in the Morning, he drew near the Ambaſſador's Houſe, where he found a Detachment of Life-Guards, under the Marſhal de Camp, Don *Franciſco de Valanſa*, Grand Commander of *Caſtile*, and Knight of the Order of St. *James*, who had Orders to ſupport him. A Coach followed ſlowly without noiſe, till ſuch time as they drew cloſe to the Door of the Ambaſſador's Houſe. It ſo happen'd, that M. *Stanhope*'s Porter was earlier up than ordinary that day; he thought this Troop was going to exerciſe, and therefore came out to look at them. The Alcaid, like a great General, ſeized this favourable Opportunity, diſmounted, and with a couple of Guards at his Heels, ſecured the Door. He then aſked the Porter, whether the Ambaſſador was ſtirring? To which the Domeſtick anſwered, that it was not his Cuſtom to riſe ſo early. The Alcaid then aſked in what Part of the Houſe M. *de Ripperda* lay, of which being inform'd, he went directly up Stairs to his Apartment, attended by two of the Guards, the reſt remaining at the Gate. The Noiſe they made by ſtamping with their Boots, awak'd the Ambaſſador, who deſired the Alcaid to ſuſpend the Execution of his Order. The Officer ſaid, it was not in his power, and at the ſame time deliver'd him a Letter from the Marquis *de la Paz*. His Excellency retired to read it, and found the Purport of it to be this:

" That his Majeſty knowing well the Capacity
" of the Ambaſſador, and conſidering, that he
" muſt be too well acquainted with the Circum-
" ſtances attending the Caſe of the Duke *de Rip-*
" *perda*, not to ſee the fatal Conſequences with re-

" ſpect

" ſpect to the Royal Authority over its Miniſters,
" in caſe his Majeſty ſhould bear any longer with
" the Temerity of the Duke, or condeſcend to re-
" ceive any Propoſitions from him, conſidering he
" looked upon himſelf as perfectly ſecure in his
" Excellency's Houſe. That ſuch a ſcandalous
" Example as this, might poſſibly induce ſome o-
" ther Miniſter of his Majeſty, or indeed of any
" other Sovereign Prince, to venture on a Breach
" of Truſt, in hopes of retiring to the Houſe of
" ſome publick Miniſter, and putting himſelf there-
" by under Cover from his Maſter's Juſtice, even
" in his very Court. It was ſaid, that this and
" many other ſuch-like Reflections, which roſe ſo
" naturally from the Subject, that they need not
" be inſerted, ought to engage his Excellency to
" redouble his Inſtances with the Duke *de Ripper-*
" *da*, to comply with his Majeſty's Deſires, and to
" embrace that full Security, which his Majeſty
" offered him againſt his Enemies, and the People
" of *Madrid*; and this the King the rather expec-
" ted from the Ambaſſador, becauſe he had expreſ-
" ſed great Uneaſineſs at what had happened, and
" ſeemed very deſirous of delivering himſelf from
" ſo embaraſſed an Affair."

While the Ambaſſador was reading this Letter, the Alcaid, and the two Life-Guards, went to the Door of the Duke's Antichamber, where the Officer knock'd ſoftly; but the Duke's Valet de Chambre being faſt aſleep, that would not ſuffice; ſo he was conſtrained to knock again a little louder. Upon this, the Fellow ſtarted, rubb'd his Eyes, and cry'd, *Who is there? Here are ſome*, returned the Alcaid, *who deſire to ſpeak with your Maſter. To ſpeak with my Maſter*, ſaid the Valet; *Why, faith, Gentlemen, you are very early! but let me tell you, nine o' Clock is his hour, and ſtay you muſt till then. No! no!* cry'd the Alcaid, *we have Matters*

of Conſequence to communicate to him, and therefore open the Door. The Fellow, out of pure Curioſity to ſee what Men of Importance theſe were, did as he was bid. The Alcaid and his Attendants went directly into the Bed-Chamber of the Duke *de Ripperda*, who all this time ſlept very ſoundly. The Noiſe they made in the Room waked him, and the Alcaid having drawn his Window and Bed-curtains, ſoon told him his Meſſage. The Duke, in the firſt moment of his Surprize, threw out a Volley of hard Names againſt the Alcaid, and ſtarting out of Bed endeavoured to put himſelf into a Poſture of Reſiſtance. But the Guards coming up on a Signal given, and filling his Antichamber, the Duke ſaw that to reſiſt was vain; he therefore put on his Night-gown, and promiſed to go with them, which they inſiſted ſhould be immediately, tho' the Ambaſſador did all he could to engage them to wait the Anſwer of a Letter he had ſent to the Marquis *de la Paz*. They ſeized his Papers, ſealed them up with abundance of *Spaniſh* Ceremony, and this being done, they conducted him down Stairs, put him in a Coach, and ſent him under a grand Eſcort to the Caſtle of *Segovia*.

The Ambaſſador proteſted againſt the Violence done to his Houſe and Character. After the Duke was gone, M. *Stanhope* received another Letter from the Marquis; wherein that Miniſter laid before him in few words, the Reaſons which induced his Catholick Majeſty to act as he had done in reſpect to the Duke; and at the ſame time acquainted his Excellency, that the King releaſed him from the Promiſe he had given him of taking care of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Perſon. Without all doubt, M. *Stanhope* was not a little moved at the Treatment he had received; but he had ſo much Diſcretion in his own Diſpoſition, or had acquired ſo much of the *Spaniſh* Phlegm, that he very perfectly diſſembled his Reſent-

Reſentment, diſpatched a Courier with Advice of what had paſſed to *London*, wrote the following Letter to the Marquis *de la Paz*; and then ſet out immediately for his Country-houſe near *Segovia*.

To the Marquis DE LA PAZ.

SIR,

'I Received this Morning the Letter you were 'pleaſed to write me yeſterday, to inform me 'of the Reſolution his Catholick Majeſty had taken 'to tear away by force the Duke *de Ripperda* from 'the Aſylum which he had taken in my Houſe; but 'as the Execution of that Reſolution happened in 'the ſame Inſtant in which I received yours, an An-'ſwer would be needleſs, were it not to renew the 'Proteſtations I have already made againſt an Act 'of Violence, ſo contrary to the Law of Nations, 'and to the Immunities and Privileges annexed to 'the Houſe of an Ambaſſador, of which I gave im-'mediate Notice to the King my Maſter; to the 'end, that his Majeſty being fully informed of this 'Affair, may take ſuch meaſures as he ſhall think 'neceſſary, for the Support of his own Honour, 'and that of the *Britiſh* Nation. In waiting ſuch 'Orders for the regulating of my Conduct, I hope 'his Catholick Majeſty will not take it amiſs, that 'for the preſent I appear not at Court.'

Among the other unlucky Conſequences of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Diſgrace, one was the Ruin of his Son, the Baron *de Ripperda*, Miniſter Plenipotentiary at the Court of *Vienna*. He was on the point to marry the Counteſs *de Blaggay*, born Counteſs of *Coblentz*, a Lady who poſſeſſed all things valuable in the Sex, high Birth, great natural Endowments, an excellent Education, ſurprizing Beauty, and an immenſe Fortune. The Emperor,

in reſpect to his Father, and the great pains he had taken in concluding the Treaty of *Vienna*, had effectually promoted this Match, the young Lady's Guardians and other Relations had given their Conſents. In a word, all things were on the point of Concluſion, when an Expreſs arrived with the News of the Duke's Diſgrace, which of courſe put all out of order again. The Baron recovered a little from the Surprize he was under, on the Receipt of a Letter from the Marquis *de la Paz*, directing him to continue the Functions of his Miniſtry, and to reſt aſſured, that his Catholick Majeſty would not make him accountable for any of his Father's Miſcarriages. This fair Weather however did not laſt long. For a little after the Secretary of the Embaſſy, by virtue of Orders directed to him from the Court of *Madrid*, deliver'd the Baron *de Ripperda* his Letters of Revocation, paid the Debts he had contracted, and ſealed up his Papers. That unfortunate young Nobleman ſeeing himſelf now without a Character, and without Buſineſs at *Vienna*, withdrew privately from thence, and repaired with all poſſible Diligence to *Madrid*, there to comfort his afflicted Mother, in the midſt of her many and unforeſeen Misfortunes. On his Arrival in that City, all Degrees of People came to compliment him, and to condole with him. For tho' the Duke *de Ripperda*, like moſt Miniſters in Diſgrace, had all the World for Enemies; yet were the Virtues of his Son ſo conſpicuous, his Affability, Humanity, and Good-nature ſo engaging, that never a more general Tenderneſs was expreſſed for any Perſon, than appeared amongſt all the People of Diſtinction at *Madrid*, on account of his Diſtreſs.

The *Spaniſh* Miniſters eaſily foreſeeing that the carrying off the Duke *de Ripperda* by force, might be attended by ſome very unlucky Conſequences, on account of the Reparation which might be demanded

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manded by the *Britiſh* Court, directed the Marquis *de la Paz* the very ſame day, to write fully to the Marquis *de Pozobueno*, his Catholick Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *London*, that he might be able to anſwer diſtinctly whatever Queſtions might be put to him by his *Britannick* Majeſty or his Miniſters. The Marquis *de la Paz* performed this with equal Diligence and Dexterity, as the Reader will ſee by the following Paper, which is one of the moſt curious Pieces that ever fell from the Pen of that accompliſh'd Miniſter.

Extract of a Letter from the Marquis de la Paz *to the Marquis* de Pozobueno. May 25, 1726. *N. S.*

'IT is well known in the World, how great Con-
'fidence the King has repoſed in the Perſon of
'the Duke of *Ripperda*, the Honours he has heap-
'ed upon him, and the Employments to which
'his Majeſty has been pleaſed to raiſe him: None
'is ignorant how great his Benignity was, when
'having reſolved to remove him from the Manage-
'ment of Affairs, he aſſign'd him an annual Pen-
'ſion of 3000 Piſtoles, till ſuch time as he ſhould
'be employed in a proper manner in the King's
'Service. Every body here is informed, that after
'having accepted in Writing the Penſion his Ma-
'jeſty had granted him, he made the moſt humble
'and reſpectful Acknowledgments to the King, for
'the Goodneſs, Pity, and Honour which he had
'condeſcended to ſhew him, by treating him with
'ſo much Gentleneſs and Favour. Very far from
'behaving ſuitably to theſe Expreſſions, he moſt
'inconſiderately executed, what perhaps he had be-
'fore conceived in his Mind, the taking Refuge,
'before 24 Hours from his Diſmiſſion from Affairs
'were expired, in the Houſe of the Ambaſſador of

'*England*, accompanied by and in the Coach of 'the Ambaſſador of *Holland*; cauſing the Furni-'ture and things of moſt Value belonging to him 'the Duke, to be carried that very night, as it 'were privily and by ſtealth, on that Ambaſſador's 'Mules, to the Ambaſſador of *England*'s Houſe, 'where the Duke of *Ripperda* ſtayed; and from 'thence he ſent to acquaint his Majeſty, by a Note 'which he wrote to me, that he had betaken him-'ſelf to the ſaid Houſe as to an Aſylum againſt the 'Inſults he dreaded from the People of *Madrid*. 'This has been ſo publickly known, that to ſet it 'forth more at large and in all its Circumſtances, 'would be tedious and tireſome: but it is alſo in-'diſpenſibly requiſite, to give your Excellency a 'particular Account of every thing that has hap-'pened in the inmoſt part of this Affair; to the 'end that at the ſame time it ſhall be made publick, 'that the Duke of *Ripperda* was this Morning ta-'ken away by the King's Order, your Excellency 'may be informed upon what weighty and mature 'Deliberation the King has proceeded on this Oc-'caſion; and of the juſtifiable Motives, which 'have obliged, and even conſtrained him to take 'this laſt Reſolution.

'As ſoon as the Duke of *Ripperda* had given no-'tice, that he had retired to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſa-'dor's, who himſelf gave an Account of it to the 'King in an Audience which he deſired, and which 'was granted him immediately, and engag'd his 'word to anſwer for the Duke's Perſon: His Ma-'jeſty reſolved proviſionally, and for the greater 'Precaution againſt the Duke's eſcaping, if he 'ſhould attempt it, that ſome Soldiers of his Foot-'Guards ſhould, in a quiet manner, ſecure the A-'venues to the Houſe of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, 'and poſt themſelves in the Neighbourhood of it, 'Care being taken at the ſame time to communicate

'to

'to that Ambaſſador the ſaid Reſolution, ſignifying to him, that though his Majeſty depended intirely on the Honour of his Word, yet, as the Precautions he might take, might not be ſufficient to prevent ſome Diſorder which the Duke might raiſe, his Majeſty for the greater Security had taken that Reſolution, upon which the Ambaſſador needed not to entertain the leaſt Diſtruſt.

'After this, his Majeſty had the Goodneſs to order, that the ſaid Ambaſſador of *England* ſhould by the paſſing of proper Offices be informed, that the King having conſidered the Duke's ſpecious Pretext of his Fear of the People, for juſtifying his taking Refuge, and aſſerting the Immunity of the Houſe, his Majeſty was pleaſed to offer him that due Precautions ſhould be taken for his Safety, and for ſecuring him from all Inſult, Fear, and Apprehenſion: Declaring to the ſaid Ambaſſador, how much it would be to his Royal Goodliking, that the ſaid Duke ſhould leave his Houſe, and that he would make uſe of this Expedient, which would immediately diſpel all the Motives he had had for ſeeking Refuge in his Houſe, and for remaining there.

'The Ambaſſador anſwered, that upon this his Majeſty's Offer, he had ſounded the Duke's Mind; who told him, that it was very certain he had aſſured the King by Writing, that he had no other Motives for taking advantage of the Immunity of his Houſe, than the Apprehenſion he had conceived of the Hatred the People of *Madrid* bore him; but that now looking upon his Majeſty as provoked by his Raſhneſs, and juſtly dreading the Effects of his Royal Indignation, he found himſelf obliged not to accept the Expedient which had been propoſed to him, but to keep within the Sanctuary of that Houſe for his Safety.

'Notwithstanding the Obstinacy of so great a 'Provocation offered to the Authority of a Sove-'reign in his own Court, who made use of such 'mild and gentle Means, when he might instant-'ly have exerted his Power; his Majesty was will-'ing still to proceed mildly, and caused new Re-'presentations to be made to the Ambassador, of 'the Prejudices and Consequences which might re-'sult against his Sovereign Authority over his Mi-'nisters, if no notice should be taken of the Duke's 'Temerity, and if Regard were had to the Pro-'positions he had taken upon him to make to 'his Majesty, because he fancied himself to be ab-'solutely out of all danger, by means of the Im-'munity of the Ambassador's House. At the same 'time was set before him, in strong terms, the Scan-'dal of this Example, which would authorize the 'Ministers of his Majesty, and of any other Sove-'reign, to be wanting to their Duty with Impuni-'ty, in hopes of being able to take Refuge after-'wards in the House of a publick Minister, and 'to withdraw themselves from the Jurisdiction of 'their Sovereign, in his Presence, and even in his 'own Court.

'All these Reasons and Reflections were sugges-'ted to him, to the end he might the more effectu-'ally sollicit the Duke to engage him to quit his 'House, and that he might without any Restriction 'make use of the Expedient his Majesty had offer'd 'the Duke for his Security. To this second Ap-'plication the Ambassador answered, That all the 'Instances he had made to the Duke were una-'vailable and fruitless, and that all he could bring 'him to was this, most humbly to beseech his Ma-'jesty, to vouchsafe to permit him to retire for some 'days into a Convent, which would remove the 'Scandal arising from his keeping in the House of

'a foreign Miniſter, and give him time to ſet his 'Innocence in a clear light.

'All this did not yet ſuffice to determine his 'Majeſty to make uſe of his Power, without taking 'the moſt mature Advice for his thorough Satiſ-'faction; and he reſolved to conſult his Royal 'Council, laying before them all the Circumſtances 'of the Caſe, to the end, that, with Knowledge 'of the Cauſe, the Council might conſider atten-'tively, whether, without infringing the *Jus Gen-'tium*, and the Privileges therein reciprocally con-'ſidered and comprehended, as belonging to Re-'preſentative Miniſters, the King might uſe force, 'and take the Duke *de Ripperda* out of the Houſe 'of the Ambaſſador of *England*.

'The Royal Council of *Caſtile* was duly convened 'and fully aſſembled for this purpoſe, and having 'examined this Affair to the bottom, by ſeriouſly 'attending to all its Circumſtances; the Council 'gave the King their Opinion, That the Duke's 'Crime was, in its kind, one of the greateſt of 'thoſe of High Treaſon that ever can be committed; 'that there were few ſuch Crimes equal to it in its 'Circumſtances; that there was reaſon to fear its 'Conſequences might render it yet more enormous; 'that it could not be doubted, that in Crimes of 'High Treaſon, not only the Houſes of Ambaſſa-'dors, but even Churches themſelves cannot ſerve 'for Refuge to the Criminals; that to aſſert the 'contrary, would be to maintain that what the 'Law of Nations has introduced for their better 'Government and Correſpondence, might be made 'uſe of for their Ruin and Deſtruction, by allow-'ing the Refuge granted to the Habitations of Am-'baſſadors, out of regard to the Sovereigns they 'repreſent, which has never been extended but to 'common Crimes (nor even to them in all Courts) 'to be ſtretched in favour of Subjects, who have

'under

'under their Direction all the Forces, and the Ma-
'nagement of the Finances of Kingdoms, and who
'know their Secrets, when they commit Crimes
'in their Employments; a thing the moſt perni-
'cious that could ever enter into the Imagination
'of any Man; and mutually prejudicial to all
'States and Princes in the World: for if it were
'eſtabliſhed, they would be obliged to maintain,
'allow, and tolerate in their own Courts, all thoſe
'who would contrive and attempt their Ruin; it
'being evident, that, in ſuch Caſes, with ſuch
'ugly Circumſtances, it ought to be preſumed, the
'King of *England* would not approve of them in
'his Ambaſſador, nor would defend him; becauſe
'they are not comprehended among thoſe which
'the Law of Nations admits, and likewiſe be-
'cauſe of the Prejudice which ſuch Example might
'bring to himſelf.

'In conſequence of this Report, and of Reaſons
'ſo ſolid, clear, and inconteſtably well-grounded,
'and upon the unanimous Votes of the Directors of
'his Conſcience, his Majeſty reſolved at length to
'have the Duke *de Ripperda* taken out of the Am-
'baſſador's Houſe, ordering him to be carried to
'the Caſtle of *Segovia*. For which purpoſe his
'Majeſty appointed Don *Lewis Cuellar*, Knight of
'the Order of St. *James*, and one of the Alcaids
'of the Court, (who was aſſiſted by a Party of the
'Life-Guards, led by Major-General Don *Francis*
'*Valanſa*, Commander-Major of *Caſtile* in the Order
'of St. *James*, and Adjutant-General of the ſaid
'Life-Guards) with Order, that on this Day, be-
'ing *Saturday* the 25th of *May*, as ſoon as the
'Doors of the Ambaſſador of *England*'s Houſe
'ſhould be opened, he ſhould enter it, and take
'the Duke of *Ripperda*, and with a ſufficient Guard
'convey him to the Caſtle of *Segovia*, ſeizing all
'the Papers he might have, and omitting nothing

'for

'for ſecuring all thoſe which might be found in his 'Coffers and elſewhere; moſt expreſsly command-'ing, that in caſe the Ambaſſador ſhould reſiſt, the 'ſaid Don *Lewis Cuellar*, and the Major-General 'ſhould perform the Offices befitting the Regard 'and Reſpect due to his Character, before they 'proceeded to Execution; but if that ſhould not 'entirely ſuffice, to uſe Force for ſeizing the Per-'ſon of the Duke.

'Before any thing was executed, I did, by Or-'der of his Majeſty, inform the Ambaſſador of '*England* of all this, diſcharging him from the 'Word he had given; and in conſequence of the 'whole, the Duke of *Ripperda* was this Morning 'taken away without Scandal or Diſturbance, and 'the ſaid Don *Lewis Cuellar* conducted him to the 'Caſtle of *Segovia*, in his Coach, guarded by ſome 'of the Life-Guards; to the end he may be ſecur'd 'there at his full Eaſe, and free from the Inſults, 'which he vainly and without ground apprehended.

'His Majeſty has ordered me to inform your 'Excellency of the Particulars of this whole Affair, 'that you may be apprized of the Juſtification with 'which the King has acted therein, and of all that 'preceded his Majeſty's juſt Reſolution; that you 'may acquaint his *Britannick* Majeſty and his Court 'with the Truth of the Fact, and of all that has 'happened upon it.'

The Marquis *de la Paz*, who was now become the Succeſſor of *Ripperda*, was in this reſpect ſo over-careful, that beſides the long Letter above in-ſerted, he wrote another, and detained the Courier till ſuch time as he could expedite both together. There is a Warmth and Spirit in this ſhort Epiſtle, which would render us inexcuſable, if we were to omit it; and therefore the Reader will take it in the Miniſter's own Words.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from the Marquis de la Paz *to the Marquis of* Pozobueno.

'AS the preſent unexpected Caſe, which has 'happened through the Temerity only and 'great Inconſiderateneſs of the Duke of *Ripperda*, 'has been ſo contrary to the King's Inclination, as 'is moſt clearly apparent from all the Circumſtances 'which have attended it, and which I have very 'amply deſcribed in another Letter to your Excel-'lency; and the King's moſt ſincere Deſire to pre-'ſerve and maintain with his *Britannick* Majeſty the 'moſt ſtrict and perfect Harmony and Correſpon-'dence, being not alter'd by it; his Majeſty has 'order'd me to ſignify to your Excellency, that 'when you ſhall give his *Britannick* Majeſty an 'Account of what has happened, you are at the 'ſame time likewiſe to aſſure him of the ſincere and 'unalterable Friendſhip, which the King on his part 'preſerves towards him; and for a Proof of it, 'your Excellency is to repreſent in a ſtrong light 'the Regard which his Majeſty has had the Good-'neſs to ſhew to his Ambaſſador, and his Houſe; 'having deferred for many days, after the Duke 'had taken Refuge in it, his final Reſolution to take 'him out of it, tho' he had it in his power to have 'done it from the moment he went thither; his 'Majeſty being informed, that the Rights of the 'Houſes of Ambaſſadors did not extend to the pre-'ſent Caſe. This your Excellency is to execute 'very punctually, for ſuch is the King's expreſs 'Will.' *Madrid, May* 25.

The Courier, which M. *Stanhope* had diſpatch'd to his Court on the day that the Duke *de Ripperda* was carried away, was ſtopt by Order of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter at *Vittoria*, for ſeveral days; ſo that he did not

not arrive at *London* till a conſiderable time after the Marquis *de Pozobueno* had received his Diſpatches, and taken his Meaſures for pacifying the Court. This however had not the Succeſs hoped for; his *Britannick* Majeſty taking no notice of the Repreſentations of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter, till ſuch time as M. *Stanhope*'s Diſpatches came to hand. On their Arrival, the Marquis *de Pozobueno* received a long Letter from the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, which we ſhall preſently give our Readers; from which Letter it appeared, that his *Britannick* Majeſty was by no means diſpoſed to paſs by the Affront offered to his Miniſter, without his having done any thing, which could juſtly give his Catholick Majeſty offence.

All this while M. *de Ripperda* paſſed his time very indifferently in the Caſtle of *Segovia*; not that his Confinement was very ſevere, but that the Violence of his Temper made him incapable of ſuſtaining even the ſlighteſt Sufferings. His Conduct in his preſent Circumſtances was ſuch, as could ſcarce have been ſuſpected from a Man, who had enjoy'd ſuch high Dignities, and ſeen ſo much of the World as he had done. He ſometimes upbraided the *Spaniſh* Nation, at other times he curſed the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry; frequently he threw out bitter Execrations againſt himſelf, for having prefer'd *Spain* to his native Country. Having thus exhauſted his Spirits, and waſted the whole Stock of his Indignation, he began to grow a little cooler, and amuſe himſelf with Projects for ſettling or embroiling *Europe*, juſt as he was in the humour; for exalting this Power, for abaſing that; in ſhort, for turning the World upſide down, for which no Man living ever had greater Abilities. It may be indeed ſaid in his excuſe, that at this time he was not permitted to correſpend with any body, and therefore might be allowed to depart ſomewhat from his ordinary manner of Behaviour. His Exceſſes however were

grievouſly

grievouſly puniſhed, not by any additional Rigours in the manner of his Confinement; on the contrary this grew leſs ſevere by degrees, but by the Repreſentation of his fierce and intractable Spirit, which deſtroyed him in the King's Opinion. That juſt and mild Prince did not forget him even in the Caſtle of *Segovia*; and it was the utmoſt Stretch of the miniſterial Arts of *Ripperda*'s Enemies to infuſe into his Majeſty's mind, a Notion of the Duke's having loſt all Capacity for Buſineſs, as well as all Regard for the *Spaniſh* Nation, or his Majeſty's Service. By this means they excluded all Poſſibility of his Return; which, in truth, they had reaſon enough to dread, ſince he had managed his Affairs ſo well, as to prevent their having it in their power to convict him of moſt of the Crimes they had laid to his charge; which, in caſe he had returned to Court, might have raiſed him higher in the King's Favour than ever. No wonder then, that they took care to have an exact Account of the Extravagancies he committed at *Segovia*, that they magnified theſe exceſſively; and that they took care in all publick Papers to make his Majeſty expreſs a ſtrong Senſe of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Extravagancies and Indiſcretions.

On the 13th of *July*, M. *Stanhope* returned to *Madrid*; and the ſame day preſented the following Paper, which is the laſt we ſhall inſert in relation to this Affair.

Mr. Stanhope's *Memorial to the King of* Spain, July 13, 1726, N.S.

SIR,

'THE underwritten Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of his *Britannick* 'Majeſty, having received Orders to communicate 'to your Majeſty the Sentiments of the King his 'Maſter,

'Maſter, upon the Duke *de Ripperda*'s taking Re-
'fuge in his Houſe at *Madrid*, and his being taken
'from thence by force by virtue of his Majeſty's
'Orders: And having at the ſame time received
'the Copy of a Letter, which the Duke of *New-*
'*caſtle*, Miniſter and Secretary of State, was or-
'dered to write to M. *de Pozobueno*, your Majeſty's
'Miniſter at *London*, exhibiting amply the King's
'Sentiments on this Affair: The ſaid Ambaſſador
'judges he cannot better acquit himſelf of this Duty,
'than by delivering to your Majeſty the annexed
'Copy of the ſaid Letter, as containing literally all
'that he has been commanded to repreſent upon the
'ſaid Tranſaction; without adding any thing of
'his own, more than moſt humbly to beſeech your
'Majeſty to be pleaſed to have regard to the ſolid
'and juſt Reaſons therein alledged; promiſing him-
'ſelf, from your Majeſty's high Wiſdom and Ju-
'ſtice, all neceſſary Reparation of the Violence done
'to the Immunities of publick Miniſters; and to
'have the Reſolution communicated to him, which
'your Majeſty ſhall judge proper to take in this
'important Caſe; that he may be able to give an
'Account of it to the King his Maſter. Done at
'*Madrid* the 13th of *July*, 1726.

Wm. Stanhope.

To the Marquis DE POZOBUENO.

SIR, *Whitehall, June* 20, 1726.

'I Preſented to the King ſome time ago, as I
'have already acquainted your Excellency, the
'two Extracts of Letters which you did me the
'honour to deliver to me; one concerning the Re-
'fuge which the Duke of *Ripperda* had taken in the
'King's Ambaſſador's Houſe at *Madrid*, and his
'being forcibly taken from thence by his Catholick
'Majeſty's Order; the other, which you gave me at

'the

'the ſame time, containing the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances
'of his ſaid Majeſty's Deſire, to preſerve and main-
'tain with the King my Maſter a perfect Harmony
'and good Correſpondence. Your Excellency will
'not be ſurprized at not having had an Anſwer
'ſooner, upon an Affair ſo important as that in
'queſtion is, if you will recollect, that though Mr.
'*Stanhope*'s firſt Letter on this Subject was of the
'ſame Date as yours, *viz.* *May* $\begin{matrix}14,\\25,\end{matrix}$ it did not
'come to the King till $\begin{matrix}May\ 30,\\June\ 10,\end{matrix}$ at Night; and
'that the Cauſe of this Delay was, that the Am-
'baſſador's Courier, who ſet out but an Hour after
'him who was diſpatched by your Court, was ſtopt
'ſeven Days at *Vittoria*: And even that Letter, as
'appears by its Date, having been ſent at the time
'when Mr. *Stanhope* was in great Perplexity upon
'what had been juſt done to him, he could only
'write in general and confuſedly in the hurry he
'was in, and referred himſelf for a more diſtinct
'and particular Account, to what he ſhould ſend
'by a Perſon, whom he promiſed to diſpatch in a
'few days for *Madrid*. You will eaſily conceive,
'Sir, that his Majeſty, before he was exactly and
'fully informed of the Fact in all its Circumſtances,
'could not determine what Anſwer to give upon
'ſo nice and important an Affair; in which, not
'only the Glory and Dignity of his Crown, but
'likewiſe of all Sovereign Powers, his Catholick
'Majeſty himſelf not excepted, are ſo much con-
'cerned. That Perſon being ſince arrived, and
'the King having full Information; I am now to
'communicate to you his Majeſty's Sentiments upon
'ſo diſagreeable an Occurrence.

'To come then to the Fact, I muſt begin by
'telling you, that his Majeſty does not pretend,
'that publick Miniſters may protect Perſons who

'are

'are in the Service of Princes where they reſide,
'or who are accuſed of any Crime againſt them:
'And his Majeſty has obſerved with pleaſure, that
'his Ambaſſador never had any ſuch Thought, as
'appears evidently by Mr. *Stanhope*'s Behaviour
'towards the Duke of *Ripperda*, when, at his Re-
'turn from his Country Villa, he found him very
'unexpectedly in his Houſe, in company with the
'Ambaſſador of *Holland*. His Excellency began
'by making the Inquiries neceſſary for rightly un-
'derſtanding his Caſe; as, what Situation he was
'in with reſpect to his Catholick Majeſty, and what
'Reaſons had induced him to ſeek that Refuge;
'that he might be able to regulate his Conduct ac-
'cordingly, and judge whether it were convenient
'for him to permit him to remain there.

'The firſt Queſtion that Mr. *Stanhope* aſked
'him, and which indeed was the moſt eſſential one,
'was, Whether he had ſtill any Employment under
'his Catholick Majeſty, or whether he was in any
'manner whatſoever in his Service? To which the
'Duke anſwered, he was not; that the Night be-
'fore, his ſaid Majeſty had at his Requeſt abſo-
'lutely diſcharged him and diſmiſſed him from all
'his Employments. The ſecond Queſtion his Ex-
'cellency put to him, was, Whether he had ground
'to believe himſelf to be in Diſgrace, or under the
'Diſpleaſure of the King of *Spain*, or to apprehend
'that his Catholick Majeſty deſigned to charge him
'with any Accuſation, or to cauſe him to be pro-
'ſecuted for any Crime or Miſdemeanour commit-
'ted in his late Miniſtry? For neither in the one
'or the other Caſe would he have found any En-
'couragement, much leſs any Protection, from his
'Excellency. The Duke having anſwered, that
'quite to the contrary, far from looking on himſelf
'as diſgraced, and yet leſs to be ſuſpected or in
'Danger of being accuſed of any Crime, the King

'of *Spain* had had the Goodneſs to grant him a Pen-
'ſion of 3000 Piſtoles a Year, in recompence of
'his paſt Services: And perceiving that what he
'had ſaid had not all the Effect he wiſhed on the
'Mind of his Excellency, he ſhewed him an origi-
'nal Letter, of which I ſubjoin a Copy, wherein
'the Marquis *de la Paz* ſignifies to him, in the
'Name of his Catholick Majeſty, that as the Duke
'himſelf had deſired, his Majeſty conſented to his
'laying down his Employments, and did him the
'Favour to grant him a Penſion of 3000 Piſtoles a
'Year, till he ſhould employ him in his future Ser-
'vice, in ſuch manner as to him ſhould ſeem moſt
'convenient. All this not having yet ſatisfied his
'Excellency, he would know what Motives he had
'for coming to aſk the Protection of his Houſe; to
'which the Duke reply'd, That it was not from
'the leaſt Apprehenſion of any Violence, on the
'part of his Catholick Majeſty, of whoſe Favour
'and great Goodneſs, he had juſt received ſo evi-
'dent a Mark as the Penſion he had granted him;
'but that he was in fear of his Life, from the in-
'veterate Malice of his Enemies, and the Rage and
'Fury of the Populace, who had that very day in-
'ſulted his Domeſticks, and declared publickly,
'that they would come at Night and attack his
'Houſe, and tear him to pieces.

'However, notwithſtanding the Marquis *de la*
'*Paz*'s fore-mention'd Letter was more than ſuf-
'ficient to convince Mr. *Stanhope*, that the Duke
'of *Ripperda* was neither in the Service of the Ca-
'tholick King, nor ſuſpected of any Crime; but
'that on the contrary, his Catholick Majeſty had
'even given him very recent Marks of his Good-
'neſs; yet Mr. *Stanhope*, ever careful not to do
'any thing that might be diſageeeable to the King
'of *Spain*, would not promiſe the ſaid Duke Har-
'bour in his Houſe, without firſt acquainting his

'Catho-

'Catholick Majeſty with it, and knowing his Sen-
'timents upon it; requiring M. *de Ripperda*, in the
'firſt place, to ſend in Writing to the Secretary of
'State the Motives of his retiring; and the next
'day, the 16th of that Month, his Excellency had
'thereupon an Audience of his Catholick Majeſty;
'when having given him an exact and ſincere Ac-
'count of what had paſſed between him and the ſaid
'Duke, he was fortunate enough to be aſſured from
'his Catholick Majeſty's own Mouth, that he was
'not diſpleaſed with his Proceeding, whatever
'Cauſe he had to be ſo with the Duke of *Ripperda*'s
'in taking Refuge in the Houſe of a foreign Mini-
'ſter: adding, that the ſaid Duke having aſked a
'Paſſport, that he might retire to *Holland*, he
'could not grant it him, till he had firſt delivered
'up ſeveral Papers, of conſequence to his Service,
'which he had in his hands; and therefore he de-
'ſired Mr. *Stanhope* would engage, not to permit
'him to eſcape out of his Houſe, till his Catholick
'Majeſty ſhould cauſe a Liſt to be drawn of his
'Papers, and ſend to get them, which ſhould be
'done the next day. To which Mr. *Stanhope* con-
'ſented, and gave his word for the ſafe-keeping of
'the Perſon of the Duke of *Ripperda*, which was
'all the King of *Spain* required of him: And his
'Catholick Majeſty's Approbation of all that Mr.
'*Stanhope* had done, cannot be more ſtrongly con-
'firmed, than by the Letter, of which I ſubjoin
'a Copy, that the Marquis *de la Paz* wrote to
'him that very day, in which he tells him, that
'the Catholick King had intire Confidence in the
'Word his Excellency had given him, to keep the
'ſaid Duke of *Ripperda* in his Houſe, and ac-
'quaints him that it was reſolved, for the greater
'Security, that ſome Soldiers ſhould be poſted in
'the Neighbourhood and Avenues of his Houſe;
'aſſuring him at the ſame time, that in this Pro-

'ceeding there was not the leaſt Diſtruſt, on the 'part of his Majeſty with relation to his Excellency, 'but that it was only for taking the greater Precau- 'tion againſt the Attempts the ſaid Duke might make to eſcape.

'Mr. *Stanhope* having therefore, in conſequence 'of what the Catholick King had done him the 'honour to ſay to him in the Audience he had juſt 'had of his Majeſty, given his word to the Duke 'of *Ripperda*, that he might remain his Houſe, 'as long as the ſaid Duke ſhould not attempt to 'eſcape out of it, he could not retract that Engage- 'ment but by Order from the King his Maſter, 'and no other Perſon in the World had a Right to 'releaſe him from it: ſo that none can deny, that 'after all that had paſſed on both ſides, the making 'uſe of Force to take the ſaid Duke out of his Ex- 'cellency's Houſe, without having previouſly ob- 'tained, or at leaſt aſked, the Conſent of his *Bri- 'tannick* Majeſty, muſt be looked upon as an In- 'fraction of the Law of Nations.

'Your Excellency will ſee, that even your Court 'was of that Opinion, by the Marquis *de la Paz*'s 'Letters to Mr. *Stanhope*, of the 18th and 21ſt of 'the ſaid Month, of which I likewiſe ſubjoin Co- 'pies; by which it appears, that tho' the Catho- 'lick King had begun to entertain Uneaſineſs at 'the Duke of *Ripperda*'s Stay in his Excellency's 'Houſe, yet all his Catholick Majeſty required of 'him, was, to uſe means of Perſuaſion to induce 'him to leave it: And Mr. *Stanhope*, on his part, 'always ardently diſpoſed to do all that may be 'agreeable to the King of *Spain*, without proſti- 'tuting the Glory of the King his Maſter, and his 'own Character of Ambaſſador, by breaking the 'word he had given in conſequence of what his 'Catholick Majeſty had done him the honour to 'ſay to him, wrought ſo effectually with the Duke

'of

' of *Ripperda*, purſuant to the Intimation he had
' received from his Catholick Majeſty, that he pre-
' vailed with the ſaid Duke to conſent to leave his
' Houſe, provided he might be permitted to retire
' to a Convent: And I cannot conceal from your
' Excellency, how much the King my Maſter was
' ſurprized, that this Propoſition was not accepted,
' not being able to conceive any ſolid Reaſon for
' its being rejected.

' But what has much more ſurprized the King my
' Maſter, and renders the Treatment of his Am-
' baſſador yet the more unreaſonable, is, that it does
' not appear, that before Force was uſed, after all
' that had paſſed on both ſides, his Ambaſſador was
' ever aſked in form to deliver up the ſaid Duke,
' or make him quit his Houſe; not even after the
' Reſolution taken by the Council of *Caſtile*, by
' which he was declared guilty of High Treaſon;
' nor was the ſaid Reſolution, or the Contents of
' it, communicated to him, but at the time when
' the Officer of Juſtice, accompanied by a military
' Officer with 60 Guards, having enter'd his Excel-
' lency's Houſe with a Commiſſion to force it, de-
' livered to him a Letter from the Marquis *de la*
' *Paz*, in which he ſignified to him, that he was
' diſcharged from the Word he had given; that
' they were to take the ſaid Duke out of his Houſe,
' and ſeize all the Papers that might be found in his
' poſſeſſion, by making ſtrict Search in his Coffers
' and elſewhere: And this was done on the ſpot,
' notwithſtanding the Proteſt of the Ambaſſador,
' who deſired only that the Execution might be
' ſuſpended till he had anſwer'd the Marquis *de la*
' *Paz*'s Letter, which was refuſed him.

' His Majeſty perſuades himſelf, that your Ex-
' cellency yourſelf will own, (without deciding
' whether Mr. *Stanhope* had right or not to give
' his Protection to M. *de Ripperda*) that after all

'that had paſſed between his Catholick Majeſty, 'his Miniſters, and the ſaid Mr. *Stanhope*, it was 'requiſite at leaſt, according to all Rules, that be- 'fore Soldiers were ſent to his Houſe, the foreſaid 'Reſolution of the Council of *Caſtile* ſhould have 'been notified to him in form, and that his Catho- 'lick Majeſty had determined in conſequence of 'that Reſolution to take the ſaid Duke out of his 'Houſe by force, in caſe he would not deliver him 'up; and that they ſhould have waited to ſee what 'Effect that Notification would have produced; 'there being nothing that could have juſtified in ſuch 'a caſe the Violation of the Immunities of an Am- 'baſſador's Houſe, but the utmoſt Neceſſity.

'Thus, Sir, having laid before you without any 'Diſguiſe the Fact in queſtion, in anſwer to the 'Extracts of Letters you gave me; the King my 'Maſter hopes, that this Affair being placed in its 'true Light, his Catholick Majeſty will diſcover 'ſo clearly, how much it concerns his own Intereſt, 'as being one of the Powers of *Europe* moſt to be 'reſpected, to prevent the Conſequences which 'might be drawn from ſuch an Example, of the 'Violation of the Immunities of publick Miniſters; 'that he will be pleaſed to take upon himſelf the 'Care of ordering on this Occaſion all neceſſary 'Reparation to be made, for preſerving the Privi- 'leges which have ever been annexed to that Cha- 'racter. This the King my Maſter expects from 'the Wiſdom and Juſtice of his Catholick Majeſty, 'and that he will thereby enable him the better to act 'anſwerably on his part, to the Aſſurances of a ſin- 'cere and inviolable Friendſhip, which you have 'given on his Catholick Majeſty's part, in purſuance 'of the Orders contained in the foreſaid Extracts.

I am, with the moſt perfect Regard, Sir, Your Excellency's moſt humble and moſt obedient Servant,

Holles Newcaſtle.

While

While the *Spaniſh* Court was embaraſſed with that of *Great Britain* about the Inſult offered to Mr. *Stanhope*, there ſprung up a new Difference between the Marquis *de la Paz*, and the *Dutch* Miniſter M. *Vandermeer*. The former had delivered a *Factum*, or *Caſe*, in relation to the Affair of the Duke *de Ripperda* to all the foreign Miniſters, in which he thought fit to ſay, that the *Dutch* Miniſter had carried M. *de Ripperda* to the Houſe of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador *by ſtealth*, which Expreſſion grievouſly offended M. *Vandermeer*. He ſaid, that if the Marquis *de la Paz* had a mind to cenſure his Manner of Acting, as if it had been done without a proper Authority from his Maſters, or even in an indecent manner, he might have made uſe of ſome ſofter Expreſſion; nay, he might have ſuggeſted all that he ſuggeſted now, by the word *Clandeſtine*, if he had ſo thought fit, whereas the Epithet made uſe of in the *Factum*, was low, groſs, altogether unminiſterial, and no way ſuited to the Dignity of the Perſons mentioned therein. All this, and much more he digeſted in a Memorial, which he preſented to the *Spaniſh* Court, at the ſame time that he tranſmitted the Factum of which he complained to his Maſters the States-General, who ſeemed to have been calmer in their Diſpoſitions, ſince after this, we heard no more of that Affront, with which M. *Vandermeer* was ſo ſtung. Indeed the Differences between the Courts of *Great Britain* and *Spain* growing wider and wider every day, and the latter proceeding at laſt to actual Hoſtilities, particularly the Siege of *Gibraltar*, the Affair of M. *de Ripperda* was by degrees ſwallowed up and forgotten. Tho' it muſt be acknowledg'd, that the *Britiſh* Court never departed from its Demands of Reparation on his account; tho' it muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, that it never received any Reparation, the Council of

Caſtile from time to time inventing Excuſes, Delays and Evaſions, wherein lies chiefly the boaſted Policy of the *Spaniſh* Court: That Policy which has always laid them open to their Neighbours the *French*, tho' by it they have got the better of ſome more believing and leſs vigorous Nations.

The Ducheſs *de Ripperda* and her Son were for ſome time inconſolable for the Loſs of the Duke, and the Conſideration of the uneaſy Situation he was in. When they had once obtained leave to viſit him, they were continually going to *Segovia*, and they took all imaginable pains to quiet his Apprehenſions, and to ingage his Belief, that neither his Impriſonment, nor his Diſgrace, would be perpetual. In the mean time the Ducheſs retired with her Family from their Palace to a private Houſe, where ſhe lived in great Decency, and with much Credit, viſited by Perſons of the firſt Diſtinction, and by ſuch of the Clergy as were in higheſt Reputation for their Piety. Theſe concurring in their Repreſentations to her on the Subject of the Duke, that he was the ſole Author of his own Misfortunes and of hers, that his Indiſcretions had been but ſlightly puniſhed, and that there was but very little Reaſon to believe, that even this Puniſhment would bring him to a juſt Senſe of his Follies: She by degrees came into their way of thinking, went leſs frequently to the Caſtle of *Segovia*; and at length was contented to be the admired and belov'd Ducheſs of *Ripperda* at *Madrid*, without remembering that there was any Connection between her and the hated Duke *de Ripperda*, who was fallen a Victim to the Suggeſtions of his Enemies, and remained a dreadful Example of the Inſtability of human Fortune. Notwithſtanding this, the Ducheſs retained an excellent Character, her extraordinary Oeconomy, her great Piety, her extenſive Charity, and her profound Obedience to her ghoſtly Directors,

ſecured

ſecured to her an univerſal Applauſe, while her Huſband was never mentioned without Curſes, tho' nothing flagrant had been proved, nor to ſpeak truth ever could be proved againſt him.

As we are for a long time to conſider the Duke *de Ripperda* in the light of a Priſoner of State, it may not be amiſs to deſcribe the Place of his Confinement. *Segovia* is a very conſiderable City in *Old Caſtile*, twenty-ſeven *Engliſh* Miles from the *Eſcurial*, thirty-three from *Madrid*, and ſixty from *Toledo*. It is built upon a Hill, the little River of *Atayada* running at the foot of it; and a little after it has paſſed by the place, falling with ſeveral other leſſer Streams into the *Douro*. The Territory round it, is equally fertil and pleaſant, affording the fineſt Paſtures that can be ſeen, wherein feed innumerable Flocks of Sheep, producing the fineſt Wool in the Univerſe. The City is chiefly inhabited by Manufacturers, and is by very far the richeſt and beſt built in all *Spain*. It contains (that is, taking the upper and lower City together) 8000 Houſes at leaſt, and between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand Perſons; amongſt which there is not one Beggar. Its Cathedral is dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, and is one of the fineſt in *Spain*. The Biſhop is Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*; but we may ſafely ſay of his Revenue, that it is Archiepiſcopal itſelf, amounting to five thouſand Pounds *per Annum* at leaſt. There are here three great Manufactures; the firſt is the Woollen, divided into the old and the new. The old conſiſts in thoſe fine *Spaniſh* Cloths, which bear the Name of this City, and are every where in eſteem. The new are thoſe ſet up by M. *de Ripperda*, conſiſting in coarſer Cloth and lighter Stuffs. The ſecond is the making of Paper, which is no leſs beneficial, imploying a multitude of Hands, and anſwering with Profit the vaſt Expence with which it is carried on.

The

The third thing here is the *Caſa de la Moneda*, that is, the Money-Houſe, or *Mint*, which is beyond compariſon the fineſt in *Europe*. It is a handſome ſpacious Building, with four ſtrong Towers of Stone cover'd with Lead. The Engines made uſe of in Coining, are all moved by Wheels, which are wrought by the River, which is the reaſon that the Money ſtruck here, is more beautiful than that coined at *Seville*, and done ſo expeditiouſly, that this Mint might certainly ſuffice for half the Coinage of the Continent, if it were fully employ'd.

The Caſtle-Royal, or *Alcaçar*, as the *Spaniards* call it, was built by the *Moors* on a Rock, over-looking the City, from whence they aſcend to it by Stairs, cut in the Rock. It is alſo defended by four ſquare Towers, which are old, and a little decay'd. Within it is very magnificent, and, which is very rare in *Spain*, the Apartments are very richly furniſhed, even when the King does not reſide there. The great Hall in this Palace is called the *Hall of Kings*, becauſe therein we ſee the Statues of all the Kings of *Spain*, from *Pelagius* down to Queen *Joan*, the Mother of *Charles* V. and *Ferdinand*, Emperors. They are placed on Thrones, richly gilt, and make a wonderful fine Appearance. But the moſt remarkable thing about *Segovia* is yet unmentioned. It is an Aquæduct, built by the *Romans*; the Length thereof is three thouſand Yards compleat; it paſſes from one Mountain to the other, on a hundred ſeventy-eight Arches, ſo conſtructed, as to form a double Bridge. What is truly admirable in this ſtupendious Work, is the Art by which the Stones wherewith it is erected are apply'd to each other. For in the whole Structure, there is neither Brick-work, Mortar, nor Soldering; which is the reaſon that it never was, nor in all probability ever will be out of Repair. Such was the Place of the Duke's Confinement; and as he had liberty to ſend for

what

what he pleaſed from the City, he might have made it very tolerable, if he had ſo pleaſed, I mean from the Beginning. For as we ſhall ſee, he did not continue there long before his Impatience wore pretty well off.

The Keeper of the Priſon not only took care to provide the Duke a very handſome Apartment of his own, but alſo allow'd him to make what uſe he pleaſed of his. His favourite *French* Valet de Chambre, who had followed him in all his various Scenes of Life, ſtuck cloſe by him in his Misfortunes, and choſe rather to be in Priſon with his Maſter, than to injoy Liberty out of his Service. There was alſo about the Priſon another *Frenchman*, who was Servant to the Governour, and to whom they had given the Nick-name of *Lorenzo*, an honeſt merry Fellow, belov'd by every body, and ſo facetious, that the Duke was extremely delighted with him. He it was, who firſt got the better of his Melancholy, by telling him, that a Man could be but in one Place at once, and that provided he could make himſelf happy and eaſy in the Place where he was, others might think it ſo, but to him it could be no longer a Priſon. For example, ſaid *Lorenzo*, *Your poor Devils in Priſon have not a bit to eat, nor ſo much as a ſingle* REAL *of Plate in all the World; whereas we have here good Fowl, fine Hams, excellent Sweetmeats, and a Purſe of Piſtoles, the Noiſe of which is very refreſhing. In a word, my Lord Duke*, ſaid he, *this Liberty is not half ſo valuable a thing as you fancy it is. If the Governour ſhould ſay*, Lorenzo, *You are this Moment at your liberty. Why, I ſhould immediately ſay to myſelf*, ſo much the worſe, *that means no more than that I am at liberty to ſteal and be hang'd, or to let it alone and be ſtarved; a bleſſed Exchange this, for an eaſy Service.*

When

When the Duke was in his very gloomy Fits, *Lorenzo* would come and mimick him, upon which the Duke's Valet de Chambre pretended to beat him. At laſt, M. *de Ripperda* would ſay, Go! go! be gone, I would think a little. *Lorenzo* preſently took hold of this: "Your Excellency, ſays "the Wag, is in a Dream, and we muſt waken "you a little; all the Thinking in the World will "do you no good, laugh a little, laugh, my Lord, "at them that ſent you here. They are in Priſon, "believe me; nay, a right Courtier is everlaſtingly "in the Stocks. You have twenty times the Ad- "vantage of them. If you will but open your "Eyes, you may ſee that you are free; but if they "open their Eyes, they muſt ſee that they are "Priſoners and Slaves; downright Slaves, my "Lord; they dare not ſpeak ſo freely as *Lorenzo* "for their Ears, and then your plaguy Councils "are held at Noon, ſo that a Man's Guts mutiny "within him all the while that he ſits in *Querpo*, "and is treated with a hundred fine Titles, which "go but a little way in filling an empty Stomach. "Whereas you, my Lord, may riſe when you "will, and go to bed when you will; ſay what "you will, and do what you will, eat if you pleaſe, "and let it alone if you pleaſe, may be in humour "if you think fit, or out of humour if it were not "for *Lorenzo*. Is this being in Priſon? No, my "Lord, you were a Priſoner at *Madrid*, and they "ſet you at liberty who ſent you to *Segovia*." By degrees the Duke *de Ripperda* reliſhed this Diſcourſe, and grew every day more tractable. However, he would ſometimes lament his Misfortunes, very paſſionately often repeating this Maxim; An innocent Man has a Right to his Freedom, and he who hath a Right to any thing, hath a Right to imploy any means to come at it. He never ſaid this before any body but his own Servant and *Lo-*

renzo,

renzo, who was become a kind of Confident, and who never betrayed the Truſt that was repoſed in him. The two *Frenchmen* would often reaſon together upon this Expreſſion of the Duke's, but it was a long time before they came at its Meaning; tho' one would think, there was nothing in it very ambiguous, yet in all probability theſe wiſe Folks had never come at the Kernel, if the Nut had not been crackt by accident.

One day *Lorenzo* was making the Duke's Coffee, when M. *Ripperda*, who had been long ſilent, ſaid to himſelf, *The King could not be diſpleaſed if I got from hence!* Say you ſo, quoth *Lorenzo?* "Then "I underſtand what you have been harping upon "for this Fortnight. Well, if it were come to "that, I would venture my Life to do you a Ser- "vice. But, Sir, will you give me leave to ſpeak "my mind? Yes, *Lorenzo*, ſaid the Duke, and "will be thankful for it. Why then, my Lord, "ſaid *Lorenzo*, let your Enemies fly, they are "guilty, and Flight may do them a Service; but "Innocence ought never to ſtir. I would rather "be racked, than loſe the Reputation of being "honeſt, by running away from the Rack, though "I knew I did not deſerve it. There was a thing "happened at *Paris* when I was there, that fixed "me in this Notion. I will tell it your Excellency, "it will divert the time, and may ſome way or "other be of uſe. Why, ſaid the Duke, *Lorenzo*, "you talk like a Philoſopher. An Ounce of "Mother-Wit, returned he, is worth a Pound of "Learning, my Lord. I am a poor Fellow, and "can read no Language but *French*, yet I am ho- "neſt, and have Senſe enough to know that it is "my Intereſt. Buffoonry is the Faſhion; I took "it up to pleaſe the Duke *de Vendome*, who, at "his Death, recommended me to the Governour "of *Segovia*; and if I amuſe your Excellency by

"playing

" playing the Fool, you may depend upon it, I " will never perplex you by playing the Knave at " your expence. I believe it, ſaid the Duke, " come let us have your Story."

" Your Excellency might have heard, conti- " nued he, that about the middle of the Reign of " *Lewis* XIV. there were diſcovered at *Paris* a Set " of Ladies, who were engaged together in the " Practice of the Kindred Arts of Fortune-telling " and Poiſoning. Amongſt theſe the moſt cele- " brated was Madam *Voiſin*. I am not really able " to give you an account of her Family or Educa- " tion, all I know of her is this, that ſhe gave " herſelf out to be extremely intimate with the " Devil, and boaſted of his allowing her two or " three of his Valets to attend her, when, where, " and how ſhe thought fit. She was alſo extremely " well verſed in the Art of making Charms, Phil- " ters, Love-Powders, and abundance of ſuch-like " pretty things, which drew to her a vaſt Reſort " of Maids and Widows. As for married Ladies, " they went for another Reaſon. *La Voiſin* could " foretel to a nicety, when a troubleſome Huſband " would take a Journey to the other World; and " if his Wife was very impatient, ſhe knew how " to make him ſet out a Month or two ſooner than " he would otherwiſe have done. Marvellous Se- " crets theſe, ſaid the Duke, but I have heard " much of them before; I think this Lady flou- " riſhed in the time that a Marſhal of *France* was " charged with no Diſlike of theſe Arts. True, " my Lord, returned *Lorenzo*, but my Story re- " lates not to ſo great a Perſon; what I ſhall tell " you is true to my own knowledge, and though " the Man of whom I ſpeak was no better than a " common Muſician, yet, as a Man, I conceive " your Excellency will not believe yourſelf in-

" jured,

" jured, by having him propoſed to you as an " Example.

" His Name was *Philibert*, he was the Collegue " of the famous *des Cotteaux*; they both belonged " to the Opera, and the King was ſo well pleaſed " with their Performances, that he frequently " ſpoke to them, eſpecially to *Philibert*, who was " a Man of Senſe and good Breeding. This Man " growing weary of a ſingle Life, and very deſi- " rous of fixing himſelf in *Paris*, made choice of " a young Woman, who was the Daughter of one " M. *de Brunette*, a very rich Tradeſman, and a " Man of a very fair Character. The Girl was " about fourteen, little of her Age, and tho' very " handſome, yet not near ſo ſprightly as moſt of " my Country-women are. This was the more " wonderful, conſidering that her Father was a very " quick Man, and her Mother a Gentlewoman of " a briſk airy Diſpoſition, and in the Flower of " her Age, when ſhe brought this Daughter. M. " *Brunette* uſed to meet *Philibert* in an Evening, " when they generally ſupt together, talk'd over " their Affairs, and then diverted themſelves with " a Bottle, a Tune, and a Song. The honeſt " Shopkeeper was ſo taken with his future Son-in- " Law, that he ſtaid out later than ordinary, and " when he came home was generally half tipſy. " Madam *Brunette* aſſerted the Prerogative of the " Sex, by queſtioning him very ſtrictly on the " head of his new Acquaintance. The good Man " frankly told her the Truth, and ſo magnified the " excellent Qualities of the future Huſband of their " Daughter, that by degrees the Wife, who knew " very well there was no Love in the Caſe, and " that *Philibert* only wanted a Settlement, began " to think ſhe could do his buſineſs better than her " Daughter.

" Having

" Having once got this notion in her head, a-
" way ſhe went to Madam *Voiſin*, told her the State
" of her Caſe, and received the uſual Conſolation,
" that is to ſay, a Pacquet of Pills, which ſent M.
" *Brunette* where his Wife was willing he ſhould
" go. This ſudden Change in the Family, put a
" full ſtop to the Marriage. After the Huſband
" was buried, and things were a little in order,
" *Philibert* renewed his Suit. He was given to
" underſtand, that Women were leſs fond than their
" Huſbands of marrying their Daughters; that
" when there are two ſingle Perſons in a Houſe,
" the eldeſt ought to be married firſt; yet that,
" after all, it would depend upon himſelf, whether
" he ſhould, or ſhould not be diſappointed. *Phi-*
" *libert* was not ſo dull, as to miſs comprehending
" the Meaning of theſe ſort of Diſcourſes, and
" therefore determining to ſail with the Wind, he
" ſuddenly tack'd about, and from addreſſing Miſs,
" fell to adoring Mrs. *Brunette*. The Courtſhip,
" you may be ſure, was ſhort, as it was violent,
" the fair Lady was more in a hurry than he, the
" Contract was quickly drawn, a very conſiderable
" Sum went to the Spouſe in Election, and pretty
" Miſs was ſent to a Convent, to lament her Ill-
" luck in loſing ſuch a Father, and in keeping ſuch
" a Mother. From the day of their Marriage, *Phili-*
" *bert* and his Lady were the fondeſt Couple in *Pa-*
" *ris*; he found her good-humour'd, witty, and
" moſt obſequiouſly devoted to his Service in what-
" ever he required. Money he had in plenty, a com-
" modious Houſe, a full Table, and as many Friends
" at it, as he thought fit to invite; he look'd upon
" himſelf to be compleatly happy; and all who
" knew him thought he was ſo too. He applauded
" his own Wiſdom in the Conduct of this Affair,
" and believed that there was nothing could fall
" out, which might ſubvert, or even ſo much as

" trouble

" trouble his Happineſs. But as they ſay in this " Country, *the Fortunate are naturally Fools*; ſo " the Courſe of a few Months taught our Muſician, " that human Life is an Inſtrument that cannot be " long kept in tune. Thus, my Lord, happened " the thing:

" Madam *Voiſin* was ſo unfortunate as to have " the Source of all her Riches, and all her In- " tereſts diſcovered, on which ſhe was preſently " arreſted, her Proceſs made, and on very full " Proofs ſhe was ſentenced to be burnt alive. It is " ſaid, that from the moment ſhe was in Priſon, " ſhe abandon'd all hopes of Life, and Thoughts " of this World, employ'd her time in Prayers " and Repentance, and gave ſuch viſible Teſti- " monies of unfeigned Penitence, as procured her, " tho' ſo flagrant an Offender, the Pity of all " who beheld her in this diſtreſſed Condition. " Before ſhe ſuffered, ſhe delivered up to her " Judges a Book, containing an Account of all " who had conſulted her during the Courſe of her " Buſineſs, and of the Services ſhe had done them. " This Book, like *Pandora*'s Box, was no ſooner " opened, than Plagues and Miſchiefs flew about " all *Paris*. The Jails were filled with Ladies " of all ſorts and ſizes; and amongſt the reſt, " poor *Philibert* loſt his Wife. Her Caſe hap- " pened to be ſo very plain, that ſhe was adjudged " to be hang'd, almoſt as ſoon as ſhe was taken. " She could not avoid confeſſing, and ſuffered " Death with a great Mixture of Confuſion and " Concern.

" The Circumſtances of this Buſineſs threw ſome " Suſpicions upon *Philibert*; and as the World is " very ſeldom ſlow in cenſuring, ſo it began to be " preſently whiſper'd through the City, that the " Muſician's Hand was ſet to M. *Brunette*'s Paſſ- " port; and that he would be quickly queſtioned

" upon this head. The King himſelf was ſo kind,
" as to hint to the Muſician the Expediency of his
" going out of the way. He ſaid, his Kindneſs
" for him could extend no further; ſo that in caſe
" he neglected this Caution, and poſitive Proof
" ſhould appear againſt him, he muſt have no
" hopes of Mercy. *Philibert* thank'd his Majeſty,
" and told him, that he had ſuch a Confidence
" in his Juſtice, that he ſtood in no fear of need-
" ing his Mercy. All the reſt of his Friends were
" of quite another Opinion; and amongſt the reſt
" his Partner *des Cotteaux:* He went to his Houſe
" one Morning early, and addreſſed him thus:
" I am afraid, *Philibert*, that the Fear of ſtarving
" makes you think hanging a more eligible Death.
" You know, that together we can get our Bread
" in any Part of the Earth; be adviſed then, con-
" ſult your Safety by a ſpeedy Flight, I am ready
" to forſake my Family, Friends, Country, and
" the King's Favour, to go with you where you
" pleaſe, to ſerve you, and ſuccour you, ſo far as
" is in my power. *Philibert*, with Tears in his
" Eyes, embraced and thanked him, but declined
" taking his Advice. He ſaid, he was innocent,
" and that the Laws inſtead of injuring, would
" certainly do him juſtice, and put an end to the
" Calumnies of thoſe, who think to hide their
" own Vices by declaiming againſt the Crimes of
" others. Next Morning he was arreſted and con-
" ducted to Priſon, but ſet at liberty again the
" ſame Week, his Judges declaring, there was not
" the leaſt Foundation for the Reports which had
" been ſpread concerning him. The King, the
" firſt time he ſaw him, complimented him on
" his Innocence, and on his Courage, and at his
" Requeſt preſented what Madam *Brunette* had
" forfeited to her Daughter. Thus, my Lord,
" I have ſhewn you that running away from Dan-

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" ger is not always the way to get rid of it; and " that it better becomes a Man of Honour, to " attend the Deciſion of his Cauſe by Providence, " than to attempt to decide it himſelf. Your Ex- " cellency will forgive me, if you diſcern any " thing amiſs in what I have ſaid, and will have " the Goodneſs to aſcribe to my Sincerity the Blunt- " neſs with which I have preſented theſe Facts to " your View.

" I proteſt, *Lorenzo*, ſaid the Duke, you are a " perfect Orator, I fancy you have had a better " Education than you are willing to acknowledge; " prithee tell me, who was the Maſter that taught " you all this Eloquence? It would be needleſs as " well as tedious, returned *Lorenzo*, to trouble " your Excellency with the Names of all the ho- " nourable Perſons, from whom I have from time " to time gathered Inſtructions; it is enough, that " I tell you that the laſt Maſter I had, was the " Duke *de Ripperda*, and that it is no wonder, " that he gave ſo poor a Fellow as I a Notion of " ſpeaking pertinently, who left the Grandees of " *Spain* ſo little to ſay, that they were forced to " ſend him to *Segovia*, to avoid giving him an " Anſwer." The Addreſs, the Diligence, and the pleaſant Stories which poor *Lorenzo* had always at his finger's ends, and knew as well as any Man to apply, ſerved to aſſuage the Duke's Melancholy, and even to perſuade him, that Impriſonment was not ſo unbearable a thing as at firſt it ſeemed to be. Yet the Duke did not injoy this Comfort long, the Governour of *Segovia* entertained ſome Perſons of Diſtinction in the Caſtle, and *Lorenzo* having eaten too freely of the Fruit and iced Liquors, which were ſerved at this Repaſt, fell in the Evening into a Fit of the Cholick, which, almoſt as ſoon as it ſeemed to threaten, deprived him of Life. The Duke *de Ripperda*, who had not ſeen him for two days, was

much ſurprized on the third, when, upon his inquiring for his old Jeſter, he was informed that he was dead, and on the point of being buried. The Duke expreſs'd a good deal of Tenderneſs upon this Occaſion, he ſent his Servant to attend at his Funeral, paid ſome little Debts that he owed, and made a very handſome Preſent to a Woman, who was much in *Lorenzo*'s good Graces.

The Duke's Affairs were by this time in a very indifferent Condition, the Council of *Caſtile* perſuaded the King to give the *Engliſh* Miniſter only ſoft and general Anſwers on the head of the Satisfaction demanded for the taking away the Duke *de Ripperda* by force. That Council however did not pretend to make out their Charge againſt the Duke, tho' they named Commiſſioners to receive Informations againſt him, for which the Politicians aſſign'd many Reaſons. Some would have it, that this Delay proceeded entirely from the King's Clemency; who, they ſaid, retained, notwithſtanding all that was paſt, a great Tenderneſs for his favourite Miniſter. Others fancied, that the Council were afraid of divulging important Secrets of State, even to Commiſſioners of their own appointing. There were not a few who believed the Queen had interpoſed. The moſt knowing Politicians in *Madrid* refined ſo far on this Buſineſs, as to ſay, that the Miniſtry were the dead Weight of this Proſecution; for tho' they hated the Duke heartily, yet they were afraid of ſuch a Precedent. But I preſume to ſay, that the true Cauſe was plainly this, there were no Proofs. The Delay therefore ſerved to keep the Man in Priſon, tired the Patience of his Friends, gave his Enemies time to ſtrengthen their Party, and bid fair to break M. *de Ripperda*'s Heart. That was certainly the Reaſon, and was ſo underſtood to be by the foreign Miniſters, who, of all others, judge the beſt of the *Spaniſh* Policy. Yet to ſay truth,

we call it improperly *Spaniſh* Policy, ſince it is the general Policy of Courts. Power begets Envy, Envy undermines Power, and thoſe Mines frequently ſerve to blow up thoſe who carry their Point by them. Thus there is a Succeſſion of Inſolence, Malice and Treachery, and the conducting of theſe is moſt prepoſterouſly called Policy; while true Policy, which is the Art of Governing, the Science of preſerving the People, is quite neglected. It may indeed be talked of ſometimes to ſerve a purpoſe, but when that purpoſe is ſerved, it ceaſes to be ſo much as talked of. Who that conſiders this, can be any longer in love with Courts? Who, after weighing the Inconveniencies of both, would not agree with *Lorenzo*, that the Duke *de Ripperda* had reaſon to think himſelf prefer'd, when he was ſent to the Caſtle of *Segovia*?

It hath been obſerved, that except the want of Liberty our Stateſman ſuffered little in his Confinement. His Valet went twice a Week to *Madrid*, without being interrupted or ſearched; ſo that the Duke received frequent Advices from his Friends, and had alſo various Opportunities of writing to them. The Jailor, or Underkeeper of the Caſtle, was a Man of Senſe and Humanity, but a little more careful of his Wife than the Duke could have wiſhed. She was a very handſome Woman in her Perſon, was extremely tender and compaſſionate, and wanted not for good Senſe, or a quick Turn of Wit. She viſited the Duke ſometimes, and the Duke viſited her often, but not with that Secrecy and Familiarity which he inclined to do; for an idle and ſedentary Life made ſtrong Impreſſions on the Duke's Temper, which was naturally amorous; and in all probability, his Liking to this Woman, would have produced ſome Diſaſter, if, by chance, his Inclinations had not ſhortly after been turned another way. The Keeper was

better furniſhed with Books than the Duke expected, and which was more, he had read many that he had not, had digeſted the Matter contained in them; and when the Duke was ſo pleaſed, helped to take off a part of that Tedioufneſs which would otherwiſe have lengthen'd his Evenings. This the Duke often mentioned in *England*, as one of the greateſt Comforts he met with in his Impriſonment; for, as he was naturally curious, as well as a Perſon of great Reading and Application, he knew how to make the moſt of every Man with whom he converſed; and this *Spaniard* was ſo thoroughly verſed in all things relating to the Tranſactions from the Death of King *Charles* II. that the Duke was not only diverted, but improved by his Company. Inſomuch that there is room to believe, ſome of his future Projects took birth from theſe Converſations.

The Temper of our Stateſman was ſuch, that he could never forbear thinking, that is, thinking of Matters of State; and he had acquir'd ſuch a Habit of Buſineſs, that he was forced to purſue the Projects ſtarted by his Imagination, merely to prevent a Diſturbance in his Head. In the Caſtle of *Segovia* therefore he meditated an Infinity of Schemes, for re-acquiring that Greatneſs from which he was fallen, and for effectually puniſhing his Enemies, which was a Point that never eſcaped his Thoughts. Some of theſe Projects he had the honour to preſent to ſeveral *European* Powers, but they were all ſo ſanguine, that no Prince, or State, could be brought to think they were either ſafe or honourable. He drew up alſo an Apology for his own Conduct in *Spain*, wherein he ſo handſomely excuſed himſelf, that had it ever come to the Eyes of the King, he would in all probability have thought him innocent. But the moſt entertaining Part of the Piece was the Characters of his Enemies, which were written with ſuch fire, and yet in ſuch ſtrong

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and natural Colours, that it was hard to ſay, which deſerved to be admir'd moſt, the Poignancy of his Malice, or the Elegancy of his Genius, which enabled him to perform all this, in ſo happy a way, that no body could peruſe the Piece without feeling ſomewhat of thoſe Impreſſions which it was written to impart. His Letters to his Friends were at times very warm and diſtorted; but when he was in a better humour, were conceived in ſuch terms as make them ſtill conſidered as ſome of the moſt delicate Pieces the preſent Age hath produced. Happy for the Duke, if theſe Amuſements had wholly imployed his Thoughts! But alas! ſuch was the Frailty of his Heart, that he erred by choice, and went right by neceſſity.

The Keeper's Wife, as ſhe was herſelf a Woman of Wit and Spirit, good temper'd, and very deſirous of making our Stateſman as eaſy as the nature of things would permit, ſo ſhe took care when the Duke came to divert himſelf with her in an Afternoon, to invite ſuch Perſons as ſhe thought, by their Converſations, might contribute to pleaſe and divert him. Among theſe, there was a young Lady, about the Age of eighteen, whoſe Houſe was near the Caſtle, and whoſe Charms exceeded the reſt. She was not indeed ſo handſome as the Keeper's Wife, nor had ſhe that ſparkling Vivacity of Wit which recommended the other to the Duke; but then ſhe was younger, had much more Flexibility in her Nature, and with an amorous Diſpoſition had a Conſtancy in her Temper rarely to be met with. There was in her Aſpect ſomething ſo ſweetly agreeable, and in her Behaviour ſuch an unaffected Obligingneſs, as render'd Indifference impracticable wherever ſhe appeared. When ſhe ſpoke, her Language had at once a peculiar Softneſs, and a particular Propriety. Her Senſe was of a ſize ſuited to her Sex. She thought juſtly, but

did not assume any sort of Pride from her Capacity of thinking. She listned to others with Attention, and yet never made use of any Phrases of Command in her own Discourse. In a word, she had all the Talents, which would have justified the most profound Obedience in a Lover, and yet such was the Sweetness of her Disposition, that she thought profound Obedience becoming only in her self. This is not a Picture drawn from an Idea existing only in the Imagination, but the true and just Character of the fair *Castilian*, which is the Name she has always worn in the Pieces which have been published relating to her Affair with the Duke *de Ripperda*. It is really drawn after the Life, of which the Reader will be convinced, before he has done with these Memoirs. Without question, much of what we are obliged to say of this Lady, will look a little romantick; but the romantick Parts of a true History ought no more to prejudice the Credit of it in the Opinion of the World, than that Air of Truth which is given to Romances, ought to establish their Contents in the Opinion of judicious Persons. Likely things may be false, and unlikely true; it is ridiculous to regulate Facts by Reason, till it can be proved, that Men regulate their Lives by it. The Certainty we have that Men do not always what they ought, should instruct us, that when they are represented doing wrong things, they are then drawn in their right Colours. These Reflections, it is hoped, will not be thought impertinent, because they not only rise from, but are absolutely necessary to the elucidating this Story, in which we will now proceed.

The Duke *de Ripperda* no sooner saw the fair *Castilian*, than he found himself equally struck by her Beauty and her Behaviour; he past the Afternoon insensibly, and saw with Concern, that the Hour was come which of necessity was to part them.

them. When ſhe was retired, the Duke began to revolve in his Mind his own Affairs, the State of things in *Europe*, and the Projects he had form'd about them. But alas! his intellectual Powers were ſo much out of order, that he found it impracticable for him to pay a proper Attention even to his own Thoughts. The Image of the fair *Caſtilian*, like a Coloſſus, took up the whole Extent of his Mind, and left room for no meaner Conſiderations. The Duke, whoſe religious Notions by this time hung but looſe about him, was ſo far from ſhaking off, that he indulged theſe Sentiments: He thought that in the Condition he was in, deprived of Dignity, thruſt into a Priſon, and almoſt as far removed from Hope as from Honour, he might be indulg'd a little in giving way to his amorous Inclinations, and in devoting to pleaſure thoſe Hours which could not be more properly imployed. Having thus ſtifled in his Breaſt all Motions of Reaſon, and all the troubleſome Reflections of Conſcience, he gave a looſe to his new Paſſion, and imployed all his Thoughts in contriving how to gratify it. Thus the Hours were ſpent till towards Morning, when the Appearance of the Light ſurprized him as much as the ſudden Return of Darkneſs had the Night before. He endeavoured to compoſe himſelf to Reſt, that he might be the more able to execute the Buſineſs of the enſuing Day. But he had ſcarce ſhut his Eyes, before he was awaked by a cruel Senſation of a Fit of the Gout, which might be very probably haſtened by the Agitation his Spirits had been in. However it was, he was forced to call up his Servant, to ſend for whatever could be thought of to eaſe him; and after all, paſt the Morning very diſagreeably in his armed Chair, with his Legs extended on a couple of Stools. A ſeaſonable Remedy, my Readers may poſſibly think, for his new-kindled Paſſion; but thoſe who have felt it affirm,

affirm, that even the Pains of the Gout cannot either extirpate, or ſwallow up thoſe of Love.

It was the Doctrine of the old Phyſicians, and it is ſtill the received Opinion among the Vulgar, that there is in the Eyes of Mortals a certain faſcinating Power, by which they operate both on the Bodies and the Minds of others. Thoſe who have been converſant in Amours, will not think this Doctrine ſo ridiculous as it will appear in the Eyes of others, becauſe they muſt be convinced, that in ſuch tender Affairs, Looks operate more than Words. Our *Caſtilian* was an Inſtance of this; ſhe was by no means inſenſible of the Reſpect paid her by the Duke, while ſhe was with him; but when ſhe was alone, her Senſibility ſtrongly increaſed. She ran over in her Thoughts whatever he had done or ſaid, and upon this running over, ſhe thought ſhe diſcovered an extraordinary Tenderneſs for herſelf in the Expreſſions he made uſe of, and in the unuſual Civilities he paid her. At firſt, this Diſcovery pleaſed her. For Pride is the chief, and moſt natural of Female Vices. Yet, when ſhe had reflected a little on the great difference in their Ages, Temper, and Stations, and eſpecially when ſhe remembered he was a married Man, and that the Ducheſs of *Ripperda* was one of the moſt eſteemed Ladies in *Madrid*, ſhe altered her Sentiments, and began to be very uneaſy at that prophetic Proſpect, which her too ſagacious Underſtanding preſented to her View. Full of theſe honourable Notions, ſhe reſolved to ſtifle in its Infancy a Paſſion, which ſhe knew to be diſhonourable, and which ſhe had therefore juſt reaſon to fear would prove equally ignominious and unhappy. Thoughts, like theſe, having wearied the Faculties of her Mind, ſhe fell into a deep Sleep, out of which ſhe did not awake till it was pretty late in the Morning. She dreſſed herſelf, dined, and before the uſual Hour of going abroad

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in the Afternoon, felt an uneaſy Propenſity to go to the Caſtle.

In ſpight of all the Reſolutions ſhe had made, her Humour compell'd her to go into the way of Danger. The Duke of *Rochfoucault* obſerves, with great truth, that a Woman's firſt Love is laſting, if ſhe meets not with a ſecond; and we muſt conclude, that whatever is laſting with the Ladies, muſt have a very extraordinary Degree of Force. To wonder therefore at the fair *Caſtilian*'s Conduct, would argue as much Weakneſs in us, as in her. Folly in the preſent Inſtance got the better of her Reaſon; hereafter, however, we ſhall ſee that Reaſon in her turn, came in to aſſiſt and regulate her Folly; ſo frail a thing is human Underſtanding, and ſo much more frail human Virtue. No ſooner had our Fair-One entered the Apartment of her Friend, but ſhe inquir'd after the Duke of *Ripperda*, and being inform'd that he ſuffer'd under the Attacks of the Gout, ſhe had well nigh fainted. Happy for her that there was no other Witneſs of her Failing, but the Keeper's Wife, who was too wiſe not to diſcern the Cauſe, and too much a Woman not to encourage it. Alas! my Friend, ſaid ſhe, how ſtrange it is, that the very hearing of the Duke's being ill of the Gout, ſhould give you ſuch a Fit of the Vapours? Well! I ſee there is a ſtrong Mixture of Pity in the Compoſition of our Sex. His Excellency is too polite a Perſon to ſuffer a Declenſion in his Fortunes, a Divorce from his Family, and Confinement of Perſon, without moving the Compaſſion of every Perſon who ſees him. The fair *Caſtilian*, if it had been poſſible, would have recovered her Miſtake, and thrown her ſudden Malady upon ſome other Cauſe. But her Endeavours were vain; ſhe had to do with a Woman more knowing and better experienc'd than herſelf, and therefore, after a few unſucceſsful Attempts,

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ſhe was glad to aſk, Whether the Duke's Indiſpoſition was ſo great as to hinder his ſeeing Company? I can't tell that, anſwer'd her Friend, the Duke has been very bad to be ſure, he is at preſent ſomewhat better; but how he will reliſh a Viſit from a young Lady, who one minute ſwoons at the News of his Illneſs, the next forſwears her having any Regard for him, and before one has time to believe her, deſires to ſee him ſick as he is; how he will reliſh this, I ſay, I cannot tell. But if you pleaſe, I will go and make a faithful Report, and will bring you his Anſwer exactly. The *Caſtilian* did not oppoſe her going to the Duke's Apartment, but intreated her not to ſay any thing of what had happened. Mighty well! return'd the Keeper's Wife, but how ſhall I be able to ſatisfy you, that I have ſaid nothing? Come! the beſt way will be for us to go together; this will at once prevent my Huſband's Jealouſies, and your Suſpicions.

When the Ladies enter'd the Duke's Apartment, he was writing on a little Deſk fixed to his Chair. The Sight of them baniſhed all Ideas of Buſineſs, and ſo effectually ſtifled all Senſe of Pain, that he could not help ſtarting almoſt upright, which ſerv'd to convince him, that tho' Love always gives Spirits, it does not always give Force. He was therefore conſtrained to reſume his former Poſture, nor could he do that, but by the Aſſiſtance of his kind Friends. When they were ſeated, and had enter'd into Converſation a little, the Keeper's Wife left them together. Our Stateſman, who waited ſuch an Opportunity, did not let it ſlip unimproved. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that we are particularly informed of all that paſs'd in this Converſation, and we are by no means inclined to ſupply even probable Matter on this head. We have ſufficient Authority for what we have already advanced, and for a great deal more, if we had been inclined to inſert it;

it ; but as we ſhould have waved any thing of this ſort altogether, had it not been ſo intimately united with the Duke *de Ripperda*'s political Concerns, that there was really no dividing them ; ſo we chuſe to dwell no longer upon the amorous Hiſtory of our Hero, than is abſolutely neceſſary for the Reader's Information, with regard to the ſubſequent Part of theſe Memoirs. If what we have already written, be not in the uſual Style of Hiſtory, we hope, that too will be excuſed. For ſure nothing can be more unnatural, than to ſpeak in the ſame ſolemn Strain of a Man's Wiſdom and of his Weakneſs, and to ſet in the ſame light his Errors and his Exploits. It is true, that many Memoir-Writers do this ; but then they are certainly ſtruck with the Vanity of repreſenting him, of whom they ſpeak, in the light of a very perfect Perſon, that the greater Honour may reſult to themſelves. But thoſe, who cannot make fine Pictures, pique themſelves upon making true ones, and endeavour to ſupply in Likeneſs, what they want in Beauty. This is exactly our caſe, we do not draw the Duke *de Ripperda*, becauſe we admire him, but becauſe he made himſelf admired to the World ; we do not therefore ſwell his Virtues, or ſoften his Vices ; we content ourſelves with ſhewing what he was, knowing well, that ſcarce any Stateſman deſerves to be exhibited as a Model, tho' there is hardly one, who, in ſome light or other, may not be properly conſidered as a very uſeful Example: As an Example of the Unſteadineſs of human Grandeur, the tinſel Excellence of human Abilities, and the ſmall Degree of Worth and Virtue, neceſſary to acquire the Dominion over Mortals. But of this enough.

Our Lovers, for from this day we may fairly call them ſuch, were very eaſily induc'd to credit each other's Proteſtations of ſincere and everlaſting Fidelity, becauſe little Evidence is neceſſary to prove what

what we wiſh to be true. The Duke had a great advantage over the Lady, he was practiſed in the Art of Perſuaſion, he knew well how to operate on the Paſſions, and was very far from being ignorant in that peculiar kind of Eloquence which is ſuited to the Affairs of Love. On the other hand, the fair *Caſtilian* was as much ſtruck to ſee a Duke and Grandee of *Spain*, one who had but lately govern'd the Kingdom, and who ſtill wore Marks of the extraordinary Favour he was once in with Emperors and Kings, addreſſing himſelf to her as the Miſtreſs of his future Fortunes, the Arbiter of his Peace, and the ſole and ultimate End of his Wiſhes. What the Conſequences were of this Interview, we muſt be ignorant of Human Nature not to gueſs; nor can we be well acquainted with it, if we do not pity a poor Woman tender in Years, more tender by Conſtitution, and expoſed to ſuch Aſſaults, as might have been dangerous to the moſt accompliſh'd and moſt experienced of her Sex. We ſhall hereafter ſee greater Reaſons for compaſſionating one, whoſe Courage, Conſtancy, and other amiable Virtues, deſerved a better Fate, if her own Choice had not drawn upon her that of travelling through the World, without Friends, without Character, without any nobler View, than that of obeying a Man whoſe tumultuous Paſſions hurried him from one mad Action to another, and with whom, whatever ſhe might hope, yet it is certain, ſhe never did injoy one hour of true Content.

As for the Stateſman, he was no leſs charmed with his Succeſs in Intrigue, than if he had carried ſome political Project into execution; eager, and violent in his Nature, vain and oſtentatious in his Humour, he ſuffered his Imagination to be ſwell'd with a Triumph, which ought rather to have plunged him into Shame and Remorſe. But he had long ago parted with all real Religion; for having found,

found, that it anſwered few political Purpoſes, and having himſelf few other Purpoſes to anſwer, he uſed it a-while as a Tool; and when it could be uſed no longer as ſuch, threw it altogether away. After the firſt Sallies of his Inclination had abated its Fervour, he began to think of making his Miſtreſs uſeful as a Confident. His Valet, who was privy to his Amour, made the third in the Council, and amongſt them all Affairs were debated, with equal Freedom and Confidence. The Friends of the Duke repaired to the Lady's Houſe, and by her Intereſt, with ſome neceſſary Helps, had now and then Permiſſion to converſe with the Duke himſelf; which for a time leſſened the Plague of Confinement, and ſerved to raiſe and cheriſh his hopes. The rather, becauſe in theſe Conferences he learned, that things abroad were by no means in a quiet Condition; that his Impriſonment had ſcarce given more Diſquiet to himſelf than to his Enemies, who were at a loſs how to render it perpetual, at the ſame time that they could not endure the Thoughts of ſeeing it at an end. That the Differences between *Spain* and *Great Britain* were wider than ever; and that, in fine, all things tended to War and Confuſion, which was the Point wherein the Duke deſired to ſee them iſſue, conceiving, that ſome unforeſeen Miſchance might give a ſudden turn to the publick Affairs, and incline the King to call him once more from Confinement, to a ſhare at leaſt in the Royal Councils, if not to that abſolute Direction of them which he once enjoyed. Such were the Dreams of the Duke *de Ripperda*, ſuch the Illuſions of a heated Imagination, everlaſtingly preſenting to him Phantoms, either to terrify beyond Meaſure, or to exalt his Thoughts beyond Reaſon. We will paſs from theſe Reveries to the State of publick Affairs in *Spain*, and to a conciſe Detail of the Differences between that Court and the Court of *Great Britain*;

becauſe,

becauſe, without thoroughly underſtanding theſe, there can be no ſuch thing as forming a Notion of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s ſubſequent Conduct, and the great hopes he had of diſtinguiſhing himſelf at the Court at St. *James*'s.

It was in the Month of *May*, 1726, that the Duke *de Ripperda* was conducted to the Caſtle at *Segovia*. It has been before ſhewn, that at that time *France*, *Great Britain* and *Holland*, were entered into a ſtrict Confederacy to obviate ſome Difficulties they apprehended would riſe from the Syſtem *Spain* and the Emperor ſought to introduce. On the one hand, they reſolved to have the *Oſtend* Company totally taken away; and on the other, the Emperor and the King of *Spain* labour'd, not only to eſtabliſh it, but the latter ſought alſo to wreſt the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Gibraltar* from the King of *Great Britain*, and to introduce ſome new Regulations in relation to Trade in the *Weſt-Indies*; wherein he expected not only the good Offices, but even the Aſſiſtance, when it ſhould become neceſſary, of his Imperial Majeſty. To further which, it is ſaid, that immenſe Sums were remitted from *Madrid* to *Vienna*, which gave no ſmall Diſpleaſure to the Court of *France*; inſomuch, that the Count *de Morville*, one of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Secretaries of State, could not help ſaying to the *Nuncio Maffei*, That ſuch Remittances were the more amazing, ſince the Poverty of *Spain* was not only well known, but the Obligations alſo ſhe was under to the Court of *France*, for the Aſſiſtance given by *Lewis* XIV. to his Grandſon, for which, on a ſtated Account, there was eighty Millions due to the Court of *France*. This determined the wiſe Councils of that Court to adhere firmly to the Treaty of *Herenhauſen*, and to ſhew as great a Diſpoſition as any of the Allies, to compel, as well his moſt Catholick Majeſty as the Emperor, to leave things

things in their old Situation, and to lay aſide the new Plans they had formed for enriching their own Subjects, and aggrandizing their own Power at the expence, as was apprehended, of their Neighbours.

The Court of *Great Britain* thought themſelves obliged to carry things farther; they therefore ſent two powerful Fleets, one under Sir *John Jennings* into the *Mediterranean*, and one under Admiral *Hoſier* into the *Weſt-Indies*. The former, to prevent *Spain* from taking any ſteps in favour of the *Pretender*, which was then held to be her darling Scheme; the other to hinder the Galleons from coming home, and thereby to cut off all hopes from the Emperor, of drawing any farther Subſidies immediately from *Spain*.

In the beginning of the Month of *Auguſt*, Sir *John Jennings* and his Fleet appeared upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, which exceedingly alarmed the King and his Miniſtry; the more, becauſe Sir *John* entered the Port of *Santona*, under pretence of taking in freſh Water, and tho' nothing happened thereupon, the Admiral affirming, that his Inſtructions warranted no Hoſtilities, yet the Buſineſs of *Meſſina* ran ſo much in their heads, that M. *de la Paz* wrote inſtantly from *St. Ildefonſo*, where the Court then was, to M. *Stanhope* the *Britiſh* Miniſter, demanding an Anſwer Categorical, and without Equivocation, as to the Deſign on which Sir *John Jennings* was ſent into the *Mediterranean*. To this Letter, M. *Stanhope* returned an Anſwer on the 17th of *Auguſt*, which was the very day on which it was written, importing, that it was ſimply impoſſible for him to give ſuch an Anſwer as was demanded, becauſe his Court had not adviſed him as to the Intention of ſending that Squadron; but that if his Catholick Majeſty would be contented therewith, he would inſtantly diſpatch a Courier to his Court, in order to obtain better Information on

that head. To this Anſwer, the Marquis *de la Paz* reply'd on the 19th, informing M. *Stanhope*, that his Majeſty was very well ſatisfied with the Expedient he had propoſed of ſending a Courier, only deſired that at the ſame time he demanded in his Majeſty's Name an Account of the End for which Sir *John Jennings* was come into the *Mediterranean*, he would alſo deſire an exact Account of the Ends for which Admiral *Hoſier* was ſent into *America*; and that until ſuch time as this Anſwer arrived, his Majeſty had taken a Reſolution to forbid the Entrance of thoſe Squadrons into any of his Ports, as alſo the Entrance of any of the Ships belonging to thoſe Squadrons; allowing them however to take in freſh Water, with a few ſmall Boats or Chaloups.

On the Return of his Courier, M. *Stanhope* drew up and preſented the following Memorial, wherein is contained a very diſtinct Account, as well of the Motives which induced his *Britannick* Majeſty to ſend thoſe Squadrons, as of the Ends for which they were ſent. Without doubt, no Paper was ever better drawn than this, and therefore the Reader cannot but peruſe it with pleaſure.

Mr. Stanhope's *Memorial to the King of* Spain, Sept. 24. 1726.

SIR,

'THE underwritten Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of his *Britannick* 'Majeſty, having tranſmitted to his Court the Let- 'ters (Copies of which are ſubjoined) that paſſed 'between the Marquis *de la Paz* and him on the '17th and 19th of *Auguſt* laſt, on occaſion of the 'Arrival of the *Britiſh* Squadron on the Coaſts of '*Spain*; received yeſterday by an Extraordinary 'Courier Orders to repreſent thereupon to your

'Majeſty,

'Majeſty, That the King his Maſter was very 'much ſurprized, as well at the Style as the Sub-'ſtance of the Marquis *de la Paz*'s ſaid Letters, in 'which Expreſſions are uſed, and Demands made, 'that are not uſual among the Miniſters of Princes, 'who live together in Friendſhip; and that the 'King cannot conceive how your Majeſty could 'take alarm at the Fleet under Sir *John Jennings* 'appearing on the Coaſts of *St. Andero*, ſince the 'Marquis *de la Paz* himſelf acknowledges, that the 'Admiral, as ſoon as he arrived, aſſured the *Spa-'niſh* Governours, that he was not come with an 'Intention to commit any Hoſtility, but as a Friend, 'and with pacifick Diſpoſitions, having been driven 'upon the Coaſts by contrary Winds, and by the 'Neceſſity of ſupplying himſelf there with freſh 'Water.

'That the King is likewiſe ſurprized, that your 'Majeſty yourſelf ſhould not know the Reaſons, 'and be ſenſible of the Neceſſity, which obliged his 'Majeſty to make thoſe naval Preparations; con-'ſidering the Engagements into which ſome of the 'moſt conſiderable Powers of *Europe* have of late 'entered, and of which his Majeſty has complain-'ed ſo often and ſo loudly. The naval Arma-'ments, and Equipments, which have been made 'in moſt of the Ports of *Spain:* The Preparations 'of War, and the Motions of a conſiderable num-'ber of *Spaniſh* Troops, towards that Part of their 'Coaſt which lies neareſt and moſt convenient for 'executing an Enterprize on his Majeſty's Domi-'nions: The great Hopes of the Emiſſaries and 'Adherents of the *Pretender*, who have publickly 'boaſted of the Aſſiſtance they ſhould receive from 'thoſe Parts: The Confidence they had in it, and 'which has appeared clearly in the pernicious and 'indiſcreet Conduct of ſome among them, who have 'been lately received and favoured at *Madrid:* This,

'joined with the Intrigues which have been carried on with the *Muſcovites*, and the Reaſons his Majeſty has to ſuſpect the ill Deſigns upon which the three Ships were ſent laſt Year from *Peterſbourg* to *Cadiz*, and thence to *St. Andero:* The Knowledge his Majeſty had laſt Winter, by the Avowal of the Miniſter of *Spain*, that there was an offenſive Alliance between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*; and that by one of the Articles of that Alliance, it was ſtipulated to uſe open Force to get *Gibraltar* reſtored to the King of *Spain*, a Place which his Majeſty poſſeſſes by virtue of ſo juſt a Right: The great Subſidies which have been furniſhed to the Imperial Court, and which are not ſeen to be ſettled by any Alliance that has yet been made publick: The notorious Infractions, which the *Spaniſh* Guarda Coſtas have for a long time made, with reſpect to the Commerce and Navigation of his Majeſty's Subjects in the *Weſt-Indies*; Infractions which have been ſo often complained of, without the leaſt Appearance of Satisfaction or Reparation: Theſe things joined together, are ſufficient to exhibit clearly the Reaſons, which have induced his Majeſty to take the Meaſures he judged proper, and to equip the ſeveral Fleets which have put to Sea; and his Majeſty's Subjects would have had juſt cauſe to complain, had not care been taken for the Security of the Kingdom, and of their Rights and Properties, which they ſaw threatned and in danger. Wherefore his Majeſty expects that his Ships of War will be ſuffered to enter, and be received into the Ports of *Spain*, in the manner conformable to what has been regulated by the ſeveral Treaties that actually ſubſiſt between the two Nations.

'The ſaid Ambaſſador has likewiſe Order to take this occaſion to inform his Catholick Majeſty, of the Surprize the King is in, that no Satisfaction

'has

'has yet been offered, upon the extraordinary and 'unjuſtifiable Manner of taking by force out of 'his Houſe the Duke of *Ripperda:* A Proceeding 'of which he complained ſome time ago, in the 'Name and by the Command of his Majeſty. And 'laſtly, he has order to ſay, that the King is no 'leſs ſurprized at the Affront offered to his Ma-'jeſty's Conſul reſiding at *St. Sebaſtian*, who was ob-'liged to quit his Poſt, and forced to go to *Sala-'manca*; contrary to the Law of Nations, and 'contrary to the Tenour of the Treaties which 'ſubſiſt between the two Crowns. Done at *Ma-'drid* the 24th of *September*, 1726.

Wm. Stanhope.

To this Paper which was preſented on the 25th of *September*, the Marquis *de la Paz* returned the following Anſwer, in which it is very remarkable, that the Declarations, ſaid to be made by the Duke *de Ripperda* to M. *Stanhope*, are treated as falſe and chimerical, and the renewed Demand of Satisfaction for the Duke's being taken away, is repreſented not only as a thing unfounded in the Law of Nations, but entirely repugnant thereto.

Letter from the Marquis de la Paz *to Mr.* Stanhope.

SIR, *St. Ildefonſo, Sept.* 30, 1726.

'PUrſuant to what your Excellency did me the 'honour to write to me in your Letter of the '25th of this Month, I immediately put into the 'Royal Hands of the King my Maſter the Memo-'rial which your Excellency ſent me directed to his 'Majeſty, as a Reply made by your Excellency '(in conſequence of the Orders of his *Britannick* 'Majeſty your Maſter, which were received by 'the Return of a Courier diſpatched to *London*, 'who brought them to your Excellency the 24th

 'Inſtant)

'Inſtant) to the Contents of two Letters which his 'Majeſty commanded me to write to you the 17th 'and 19th of laſt Month, the Copies of which, 'with that of your Excellency's Anſwer of the '17th, are hereto ſubjoined, as being the Baſis and 'Foundation of the ſaid Memorial, of the Con-'tents of which his Majeſty has been diſtinctly in-'formed.

'Notwithſtanding his Majeſty had reaſon to pro-'miſe himſelf, and to expect from the Court of '*Great Britain*, a more clear, poſitive, and ſatiſ-'factory Anſwer, yet he is not at all ſurprized to 'ſee, that the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, (continuing their 'bad Diſpoſition and Intentions, which they have 'for ſome time diſcovered by their Proceedings, tho' 'they endeavour to palliate them by amicable Pro-'teſtations and Expreſſions, that have not been 'ſpared on this occaſion) inſtead of opening them-'ſelves and giving a ſincere and amicable Explana-'tion, as was deſired, touching the Deſtination of 'the Squadrons commanded by the Admirals *Ho-'ſier* and *Jennings*, going to the Seas of the *Indies*, 'and appearing on the Coaſts of this Kingdom, have 'thought fit to make uſe of new Turns and ſpe-'cious Pretexts, to multiply Complaints that are 'without ground, and are intirely oppoſite to the 'Candour and good Faith, which his Majeſty ob-'ſerves religiouſly towards his Friends and Allies; 'but are ſuitable to the Genius of the preſent *Eng-'liſh* Miniſtry, as appears by thoſe exaggerated airy 'Pretexts and Reaſons, which they accumulated to 'perſuade the Parliament of the imaginary Dangers 'that threatned the *Britiſh* Crown and Nation, to 'induce and determine them to conſent to the fit-'ing out of ſo many different Squadrons, with an 'Expence ſo great, and ſo little needful. How-'ever, his Majeſty has ordered me to declare to 'your Excellency, what the pure Force of Truth

'and

‘ and his moſt upright Intentions dictate to his
‘ Royal Heart, with reſpect to the Suſpicions which
‘ his *Britannick* Majeſty ſhews of the Conduct of
‘ this Court.

‘ In the firſt place, it is alledg'd, That naval
‘ Armaments and Equipments have been made in
‘ the Ports of *Spain*; when it is certain and noto-
‘ rious to the World, that none extraordinary have
‘ been made, nor ſo conſiderable, as might give
‘ the leaſt Apprehenſion to *England*; notwithſtand-
‘ ing the numerous Squadrons, which, with ſo
‘ much Ardour, Application, and Diligence, were
‘ equipping and ſending out of the Ports of *Eng-*
‘ *land*, gave Ground and ſufficient Reaſon to his
‘ Majeſty, to make like Preparations and Diſpoſi-
‘ tions; eſpecially when the Reports, which were
‘ ſpread at the ſame time through all Parts of *Eu-*
‘ *rope*, threatned the Dominions and Intereſts of
‘ his Majeſty in theſe Kingdoms and thoſe of the
‘ *Indies*; and when thoſe Reports were corrobo-
‘ rated and confirmed by the Rout, taken by the
‘ ſaid two Squadrons, which have appeared before
‘ the Ports of the *Weſt-Indies*, and thoſe of theſe
‘ Kingdoms.

‘ The ſame is to be ſaid, with reſpect to the Mo-
‘ tions of a conſiderable number of Troops towards
‘ the Coaſts neareſt to *Great Britain*; with this dif-
‘ ference, that the Complaint of the King my Ma-
‘ ſter on this head, is precedent and ſolidly found-
‘ ed, ſeeing it was the Arrival of the *Engliſh* Squa-
‘ dron in ſight of *St. Andero* that finally alarmed the
‘ Tranquility and good Faith in which we lived;
‘ as appears manifeſtly by the little Preparations
‘ made in thoſe Parts, where juſt the neceſſary Gar-
‘ riſons were maintained, which cannot be leſſened
‘ in time of Peace, conſidering former Examples,
‘ for ſecuring from Surprize and Danger the Docks

'made in the neighbouring Places for building 'Ships.

'As for encouraging the *Pretender*, it is not poſ- 'ſible to accuſe his Majeſty with Truth of having 'taken any ſtep, or hearkened to, much leſs given 'Aſſiſtance in Support of, his Deſigns and Preten- 'ſions to that Crown; the Conduct which has been 'obſerved towards thoſe very Emiſſaries, which 'are confuſedly hinted at in your Excellency's Me- 'morial, being indeed the moſt authentick Teſti- 'mony of his Majeſty's good Faith and religious 'Friendſhip towards his *Britannick* Majeſty: but 'his Majeſty cannot anſwer for, nor charge him- 'ſelf with the Rumours on that Subject, which 'the Adherents of the *Pretender* have ſpread to 'encourage each other.

'It is not comprehenſible what ground there is 'for ſuſpecting of ill Deſigns, and for imputing to 'ſuſpicious Intelligence, the Admiſſion into the 'Ports of *Spain* of three Merchant-Ships of *Muſ- 'covy*; which, according to the Cuſtom obſerved 'towards all Nations that are Friends, had En- 'trance at *Cadiz*, and afterwards went to *St. An- 'dero*, to traffick there: ſo that, in truth, there 'muſt be a great Propenſity to Suſpicion and Diſ- 'truſt, to conceive it from ſo innocent a Proceed- 'ing.

'As for the falſe Confidence which the Duke of '*Ripperda* made laſt Winter to your Excellency, 'that an offenſive Alliance had been concluded, by 'which the Emperor had expreſly engaged himſelf 'for the recovering of *Gibraltar*, his Imperial Ma- 'jeſty has already ſufficiently endeavoured to unde- 'ceive his *Britannick* Majeſty; the Drift being 'only to remind his *Britannick* Majeſty of the Pro- 'miſes he has made on this head, which neither his 'Majeſty nor the *Spaniſh* Nation can ever renounce.

'It

'It is notorious, that his *Britannick* Majesty has 'expended and employed considerable Sums lately in '*France*, *Prussia*, *Sweden*, *Holland*, and other Parts, 'to promote his Ends, and accomplish his Negotia- 'tions; yet hitherto the Catholick King my Ma- 'ster has never entered into the Curiosity, to learn 'the Motives of those Expences; and this renders 'it the more strange, that his *Britannick* Ma- 'jesty should come to ask an Account of the Rea- 'sons his Majesty has had to send Subsidies, or not, 'to the Emperor.

'The Complaint which has for its Subject the 'Conduct of the Guarda Costas, and which tra- 'duces their Operations as Infractions of Com- 'merce, and of the Treaties, is in all respects the 'most unjust that could be formed; because those 'Ships have not done any thing but in discharge 'of their Duty, by hindering as much as possible 'only the unlawful and clandestine Commerce of 'all Nations in the *West-Indies*, from which they 'are so solemnly prohibited by virtue of repeated 'Treaties, the Articles of which have hitherto 'been infringed, to the prejudice of his Majesty, and 'of his Rights, of which it is attempted to defraud 'him with so much Insolence in his lawful Domi- 'nions; it not appearing, that on the part of his '*Britannick* Majesty the least Remedy has been 'used against the Conduct of his Subjects, and 'those of other Powers in those Parts.

'Your Excellency concludes, with declaring an- 'other new Surprize of his *Britannick* Majesty, that 'no Satisfaction has yet been given upon the taking 'of the Duke of *Ripperda* out of your Excellency's 'House: But as that Resolution the King my Ma- 'ster took was no less well-weighed, than fully jus- 'tified before God and Men, and so conformable 'to the Law of Nations, that no Violation of your 'Excellency's Character, nor of the Protection of

'the

'the Houſe diſtinguiſhed by the Arms of *Great* '*Britain*, can be argued from it; the Reaſons con- 'ſidered, which his Majeſty had the Goodneſs to 'exhibit to the Publick in the circular Letter that 'he ordered me to write to all his Miniſters in foreign 'Courts, and particularly at that of *London*, to the 'end that his *Britannick* Majeſty might be inform- 'ed of the Fact, and to thoſe of other Powers re- 'ſiding at this Court; his Majeſty does not ſee 'cauſe to ſpeak or think any more of that Affair, 'ſeeing there are neither Means nor Neceſſity for 'the Accommodation demanded.

'To juſtify the more by Effects his Majeſty's 'Conduct, and that by them a right Judgment may 'be formed of his *Britannick* Majeſty's Intentions, 'and of the Expedition of his Squadrons, the King 'has ordered me to ſend to your Excellency Copies 'hereto annexed of the authentick Advices, which 'he received from the *Havana*, ſince your Excel- 'lency preſented your Memorial; that it might be 'ſeen whether the Operations of Admiral *Hoſier* and 'his Squadron, at *Portobello*, are worthy of a 'Prince, who gives ſuch Aſſurances of the Subſiſ- 'tance of his Friendſhip as does his *Britannick* Ma- 'jeſty, and who complains ſo much of Infractions 'on the King's part, without being able to prove the 'leaſt Hoſtility, Diſregard, or Action, that is not 'conformable to the beſt Correſpondence.

'In the Suppoſition of this Fact, which his 'Majeſty cannot avoid deeming a Violation of the 'reciprocal good Correſpondence and of the Peace, 'as well from the Hoſtilities committed, as thoſe 'which ſhall have been continued in *America*: He 'will ſee himſelf obliged to take the Meaſures that 'are moſt conducive to the Honour and Dignity 'of his Crown, and to the Security of his Domi- 'nions and of his Subjects; unleſs his *Britannick*

'Majeſty

' Majeſty diſpoſes and orders, without delay, the ' making ſpeedy Satisfaction and Reparation.'

At St. Ildefonſo, the 30th of September, 1726. — *Don Juan Baptiſta de Orendayn.*

Copy of the Depoſition of Don Diego Ramos *before the ordinary Judges of the City of* Trinidad de Cuba, *the 28th of* July, 1726.

' THE Judges cauſed immediately to appear ' before them Don *Diego Ramos*, Inhabitant of ' this City, Paſſenger in the Veſſel named in the ' Act, and adminiſtred to him the Oath, which he ' took according to Law, in the Name of God ' our Lord and the holy Croſs; and queſtioning ' him upon the Matter contained in the ſaid Act, ' he declared as follows:

' That he was at *Portobello* at the time when ' twelve *Engliſh* Ships of War appeared there, which ' was the *Sunday* of the holy Trinity this Year; ' that they were four Ships of the Line, and eight ' Frigats; that the ſame day the Preſident of *Pana-* ' *ma*, who was at *Portobello*, knowing they were ' come to an Anchor at *Baſtimentos*, ſent a Meſſen- ' ger, to complain to their Commander in Chief, ' and demand why they were come upon thoſe ' Coaſts; that they anſwered the next day, that ' they were come by order of their Sovereign, to ' convoy the *Engliſh* licenſed Ship which was with ' the Galleons; which Anſwer was brought by ' ſome *Engliſh* of the ſaid Squadron, having among ' them one of the Factors of *Cartagena* of the *Aſſien-* ' *to de Negros*, in a Barge, which entered the Port, ' giving an Account at the ſame time (being requi- ' red) that there was no War between the two ' Crowns; that the *Engliſh* licenſed Ship, and a Packet-

' Boat,

'Boat, which were in the Port, were delivered to
'them; that the Preſident ſeeing they did not de-
'part, ſent to aſk them why they remained at An-
'chor on the Coaſt; they anſwered they could not
'retire till new Order from their Sovereign: That
'four of the twelve Ships kept guard from *Baſti-*
'*mentos* to *Yſlafuerte* on the Coaſt of *Cartagena* out
'of ſight of Land; and that the *Engliſh*, when-
'ever they pleaſed, went to *Portobello* in their
'Shallops, and walked about without regarding
'the Preſident, or the General and Admiral of the
'Galleons; and having met on the Coaſts of *Por-*
'*tobello* a Bylander, which came from *Sti. Eſpiritus*,
'they ſtopped it and opened the Letters, and re-
'turned them open, and let the Bylander go, be-
'ing deſirous to learn News of *Sig. Caſtanneta* whe-
'ther he was come from *Spain* with the Squadron
'expected in *Spaniſh America:* That Proviſions be-
'ing wanted at *Portobello*, a Council of War was
'held, in which it was reſolved to aſk Paſſage of
'the *Engliſh* Squadron, that the *Spaniſh* Barks might
'go to fetch Proviſions from *Cartagena* to *Porto-*
'*bello*; that the *Engliſh* Commander granted them
'Paſſage, on condition they were only in Ballaſt,
'without Plate or Fruits; and in ſhort, that all the
'Motions of the ſaid *Engliſh* Squadron betokened
'War. That the laſt thing the Deponent ſaw, the
'ſame day he came out of *Portobello* for this City,
'(in company of twelve Bylanders, with two *Spa-*
'*niſh* Convoys bound for *Chagre*, laden with Goods
'to be tranſported to *Panama*, taken out of the
'Galleons) was, that one of the *Engliſh* Ships of the
'Line which lay outermoſt, made ſail towards the ſaid
'Veſſels, which thereupon fled back again to *Por-*
'*tobello*, where moſt of them entered, and the reſt
'paſſed near to the Ship which let them paſs, and
'went under the Cannon of the Caſtle, and after-
'wards put out again to Sea and ſailed away; and

'the

'the Bylander in which the Deponent came, pur-
'ſued her Voyage, and he knows no more; and
'that all he has declared is publick and notoriouſly
'true, under an Oath, the Sanctity of which, and
'the Importance to his Majeſty's Service, were re-
'preſented to him at the ſame time it was adminiſ-
'tered to him, and he took it; declaring, that he
'was 34 Years old, and ſigning with the Judges
'*Bernal-Fernandez-Diego Ramos*, before me *Sebaſ-*
'*tian de Cala* Notary Publick.

Copy of a Letter from Don Antonio Serrano, *Commadore of the Squadron, at the* Havana *the eighth of* Auguſt, 1726.

'THE Governour acquainted me the Night of
'the 4th Inſtant, that he had Advice by a
'Letter of the 16th of *July* from *Portobello*, that the
'Galleons were there, and that twelve *Engliſh* Ships
'lay off that Port, which having ſent to demand
'the licenſed Ship and a Packet-Boat which were in
'that Port, they were delivered to them; that
'out of the twelve, four Frigats were detached,
'which cruized on the Coaſt from the ſaid Port to
'*Yſlafuerte* and *Cartagena*; that one of our Frigats
'coming out of *Portobello*, with two Bylanders,
'for *Chagre*, an *Engliſh* Ship followed them,
'and overtaking them, made them go back to the
'ſaid Port, without doing them any other Damage;
'that the *Engliſh* Boats come and go at *Portobello*;
'that the Men go aſhore and walk where they
'pleaſe; that the Preſident of *Panama Alderete*
'was at *Panama*, where Don *Antonio de Caſtanneta*
'was not arrived, nor had they any News of him.

'By another Letter from *Portobello*, written to
'one of this Place, the ſame thing almoſt is ad-
'viſed, adding, that the Treaſure had been re-

'moved

'moved to *Cruzes*, which is within ſeven Leagues 'of *Panama*.'

On the tranſmitting this Letter to *London*, Mr. *Stanhope* received Inſtructions to reply to it immediately, which he did in the following Epiſtle to the Marquis, written with more than ordinary Fire, and wherein the Diſcoveries made by the Duke *de Ripperda* are inſiſted upon more ſtrongly than ever; ſo that the intelligent Reader cannot doubt, that it was chiefly on the Credit of what this Miniſter ſaid, that ſuch quick Meaſures were taken in ſending *Britiſh* Squadrons into the *Mediterranean* and the *Weſt-Indies*.

Letter from Mr. Stanhope *to the Marquis* de la Paz.

SIR, *Madrid*, *October* 25, 1726.

'HAving ſent to my Court the Letter which 'you did me the honour to write to me the '30th of *September* laſt, in anſwer to my Memo-'rial of the 24th of laſt Month, I have received 'order from the King my Maſter, to expreſs to 'you his Surprize at the Contents of the ſaid Let-'ter, and his deep Concern to ſee, that after his 'Majeſty had explained himſelf in ſo clear and open 'a manner, upon the Reaſons that induced him to 'make thoſe naval Armaments, of which the King 'of *Spain* had complained; inſtead of a direct, 'plain, and ſatisfactory Reply, which his Majeſty 'expected to the ſeveral Articles of my Memorial, 'his Catholick Majeſty ſhould have been prevailed 'upon to evade anſwering, and to have Recourſe 'to Advices come from the *Weſt-Indies*, to decline 'giving the Satisfaction that was demanded of him.

'As the King is moſt ſincerely and ardently de-'ſirous of maintaining a good Correſpondence with '*Spain*, he could have heartily wiſhed that the

'Behaviour

'Behaviour of his Catholick Majeſty on this occa-
'ſion had not laid him under an indiſpenſable Ne-
'ceſſity of expoſing, in its true light, the whole
'Tenour of that Prince's Conduct with reſpect to
'his Majeſty, ever ſince the Eſtabliſhment of that
'ſtrict Union which now ſubſiſts between the Em-
'peror and *Spain*. From this ſimple and naked
'Rehearſal of what has paſſed, it will evidently
'appear, that his Catholick Majeſty, from the time
'that he entered into Engagements with the Court
'of *Vienna*, has only waited for a favourable Op-
'portunity to break with his Majeſty, to attack his
'Dominions, and to endeavour to place the *Pre-*
'*tender* upon the Throne of *Great Britain*.

'No ſooner were the Treaties of *Vienna* conclu-
'ded, but the Duke of *Ripperda* took the liberty
'to throw out publickly threatning Diſcourſes,
'and to make Reflections in the moſt inſolent man-
'ner upon his Majeſty and his Allies. I com-
'plained of this, but far from M. *de Ripperda*'s re-
'ceiving the leaſt Reprimand on that account, Part
'of what he had there given out was at that time
'made good by the peremptory Demand of *Gibral-*
'*tar*, contained in the Letter the Marquis *de Gri-*
'*maldo* wrote to me the 13th of *July*, 1725, by
'order of the King of *Spain*. It was formally de-
'clared in that Letter, "That the Continuance of
"the Alliance and of the Commerce of *England*
"with *Spain*, depended abſolutely on the immediate
"Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*." This Declaration was
'confirmed by the Language the Queen herſelf
'held to me, in an Audience I had ſoon after of
'their Catholick Majeſties.

'There can be no ſtronger Proof of their Catho-
'lick Majeſties Approbation of M. *de Ripperda*'s
'Behaviour, than the great Honours to which
'they promoted him, and the entire Truſt they
'conferred on him, at his Return to *Madrid*:

'And

'And as what he had given out at *Vienna*, rela-
'ting to *Gibraltar*, was verified; ſo from that time
'Meaſures were taken to make good what he had
'likewiſe ſaid there, "That the King ſhould be
"driven out of his Dominions, and the *Pretender*
"placed upon the Throne of *Great Britain*." For
'this purpoſe, a Perſon of Note, with whom that
'Miniſter had contracted a moſt intimate Acquain-
'tance during his Stay at *Vienna*, was ſent from
'*Rome* to *Madrid*, with credential Letters from
'the *Pretender*, and had frequent Conferences with
'the *Spaniſh* Miniſters; who, jointly with him,
'formed Projects for invading his Majeſty's Do-
'minions: For carrying on this Deſign, Prepara-
'tions were made conformably to thoſe Projects,
'and a Body of Troops were ſent to the Coaſts of
'*Galicia* and *Biſcay*; for the tranſporting of which,
'the Ships that have been ſince ſent from *Spain* to
'the *Weſt-Indies*, and the *Ruſſian* Men of War
'then in *Spain*, were to have been employed. For
'though you have been pleaſed to aſſert, that the
'*Muſcovite* Ships came only on a trading Voyage,
'yet his Majeſty has at this time in his hands unde-
'niable Proofs of their having been fitted out at the
'Expence of the *Pretender*'s Adherents, and ſent
'from *Muſcovy* on purpoſe to be made uſe of in an
'Expedition againſt his Majeſty: For this end it
'was, that they were ſent from *Cadiz* to *St. Ande-*
'*ro*, to be ready for that Service. Nothing hin-
'dered the Execution of this Enterprize, but the
'vigorous Reſolutions of the Parliament, and the
'Preparations they enabled his Majeſty to make,
'by fitting out his Fleets for the Defence and Secu-
'rity of his Dominions.

'As to the ſecret offenſive Alliance of which M.
'*de Ripperda* made the Diſcovery laſt Winter; not
'only to me, but likewiſe to the Ambaſſador of
'*Holland*; tho' you are pleaſed to call this a falſe

'Confidence;

‘ Confidence; yet it is freely left to the Judgment
‘ of every impartial Perſon, who will but obſerve,
‘ that he, who declared to two Ambaſſadors, that
‘ there was really a ſecret offenſive Alliance, was
‘ actually Prime Miniſter to his Catholick Majeſty,
‘ who honoured him with his intire Confidence;
‘ that it was he who had himſelf made the Treaties
‘ of *Vienna*, and who conſequently knew better
‘ than any one the Truth of what he ſaid to the
‘ Miniſters of two great Powers, to whom he was
‘ giving Audience; that he never denied he had
‘ made ſuch a Declaration, when it was publickly
‘ talked of; that he was never diſowned in it by
‘ the King his Maſter, who continued him a long
‘ time after in his Miniſtry, with the ſame Truſt,
‘ and the ſame Authority; and, in a word, that
‘ ſuch his Diſcovery of a ſecret offenſive Treaty,
‘ was never alledged for one of the Cauſes of his
‘ Diſgrace.

‘ The Emperor's eſtabliſhing the *Eaſt-India*
‘ Company at *Oſtend*, which carries on the Trade
‘ from thence to the *Eaſt-Indies*, in violation of
‘ the 5th and 6th Articles of the Treaty of *Mun-*
‘ *ſter*, and of ſeveral other Treaties actually ſub-
‘ ſiſting, is an offenſive Act, which *Great Britain*
‘ and *Holland* had, and ſtill have, a right to op-
‘ poſe by open Force, and even to call upon their
‘ Allies for Aſſiſtance to oppoſe it the more ſucceſ-
‘ fully: That his Catholick Majeſty had this Senſe
‘ of it, appears by the repeated Repreſentations
‘ made to the Mediators by his Miniſters at the
‘ Congreſs of *Cambray*; and alſo by the Memorial
‘ which the Marquiſs *de Pozobueno* preſented at *Lon-*
‘ *don* the 5th of *April*, 1724, wherein, among o-
‘ ther things, he ſets forth, “ That if, after all that
“ had been repreſented to his Imperial Majeſty, on
“ the part of the States-General of the United Pro-
“ vinces, ſeconded in the ſtrongeſt manner by the

" High Allies, the Ceſſion of the *Netherlands* ſhould
" come to be confirmed by *Spain*, without reſerv-
" ing expreſſly to itſelf the excluſive Right on the
" Navigation to the *Indies* in general, and without
" exception; the Conſequence would be, that the
" States-General would be rightly intitled to de-
" mand Satisfaction of *Spain*, for having thereby
" made a great Infraction in the Treaty of *Mun-*
" *ſter*; and further, being not able to enjoy the
" Effects of the ſaid Treaty in this Particular, they
" would be diſengaged from the reciprocal Obliga-
" tion to abſtain from the Navigation of the *Spaniſh*
" *Indies.*" His Catholick Majeſty then looking
' upon the Eſtabliſhment of that Company to be ſo
' much againſt the Faith of Treaties, that he in-
' ſiſted ſtrongly upon this Affair's being brought
' before the Congreſs, in order to have the ſaid
' Company aboliſhed.

' This Demand deſerves the more Obſervation,
' becauſe his Catholick Majeſty made it of his own
' Motion, having ſent the ſaid Memorial ready
' drawn up to the Marquis *de Pozobueno*, as that
' Miniſter himſelf declares at the beginning of his
' Letter to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, dated the $\frac{16}{27}$ of
' *April* 1724: In that ſame Letter, which ac-
' companied the Memorial, the Marquis *de Pozo-*
' *bueno*, among other things, ſays, " His Majeſty
" has reſolved to ſollicit the Mediating Powers, the
" rather becauſe he is ſenſible they are equally in-
" tereſted in it: In that view, he has thought fit
" to order me to repreſent in his Name, theſe well-
" grounded Allegations, and to do myſelf the Ho-
" nour to make Inſtances to his *Britannick* Majeſty
" to induce him to ſend Orders to his Plenipoten-
" tiaries at the Congreſs at *Cambray*, to the end
" that with thoſe of his Majeſty, they may inſiſt
" upon the Abolition of the ſaid Company, and
" by Concert oppoſe its Eſtabliſhment, as being very

" preju-

" prejudicial, and of ſuch pernicious Conſequence
" to his Intereſts, as well as to thoſe of the Media-
" ting Powers."

' The Forbearance hitherto of *Great Britain* and
' *Holland* to make uſe of forcible Means, neither
' can nor ought to be interpreted to be a Depar-
' ture from their Right, ſince their Patience in an
' Affair they are ſo much intereſted in and ſo eſſen-
' tial, has proceeded only from their Moderation
' and Deſire to try all other Methods before they
' come to ſuch Extremities. In the mean time,
' they have been ſo far from acquieſcing in the Eſ-
' tabliſhment of that Company, that they frequent-
' ly made ſtrong Repreſentations on this head to
' the Imperial Court, and lately to that of *Spain*.
' How then could his Catholick Majeſty grant his
' Protection to that Company, allow it Privileges
' in Trade, contrary to his Treaties with *Great Bri-*
' *tain* and *Holland?* and even declare his Reſolution
' to ſupport it in all Events, as appears moſt plainly
' from the Anſwer his Catholick Majeſty gave me
' when I deſired to know, whether in caſe the Em-
' peror would not agree to a Proproſal for adjuſting
' that Affair, which the King of *Spain* himſelf had ad-
' judg'd reaſonable, his Catholick Majeſty would not
' then deſiſt from ſupporting the Emperor in this Pre-
' tenſion: The King of *Spain*'s Anſwer was, *That*
' *he could not ſay that, for he muſt ſtand by his En-*
' *gagements with the Emperor.* That Reſolution
' of his Catholick Majeſty is alſo evident by his Let-
' ter to the States-General, and by the Declaration
' which the Marquis *de St. Philippe* made in *Hol-*
' *land, That his Catholick Majeſty would look upon*
' *whatever ſhould be undertaken againſt the* Oſtend
' *Trade, as done againſt himſelf.* His Catholick Majeſty
' could not make a Declaration of this Nature in
' any other view, than that of forcing *Great Bri-*
' *tain* and *Holland* to ſubmit to the Emperor in this

'Particular; or with an Intention of coming to a 'Rupture with his Majeſty: For the King of *Spain* 'muſt eaſily foreſee, that from the Inſtant he had 'entered into ſuch offenſive Engagements with the 'Emperor, in ſupport of this Trade, *England* and '*Holland* would have the ſame Right to act, and 'to call for the Aſſiſtance of their Allies againſt '*Spain*, as they had before againſt the Emperor 'alone.

'The Refuſal of Entrance into the *Spaniſh* Ports 'to any Ship of the Squadron commanded by Sir '*John Jennings*, tho' the Admiral had previouſly 'given the fulleſt Aſſurances to the Governours of 'all the Ports before which he appeared, that he 'came thither as a Friend, and with pacifick Inten-'tions; and the taking the Duke *de Ripperda* by 'force out of my Houſe, are manifeſt Infractions 'of Treaties, and of the Law of Nations; theſe, 'as alſo the Violence done to the King's Conſul at '*St. Sebaſtian*, by forcing him to depart from thence 'and go to *Salamanca*, without the leaſt pretence 'for it, which, no doubt, was done to prevent his 'getting any Knowledge of the Preparations that 'were making in thoſe Parts againſt his Majeſty, 'can be look'd upon no otherwiſe than as repeated 'Acts of Hoſtility. To which muſt be added, as 'a new Proof of Hoſtilities committed againſt his 'Majeſty's Allies, the Order given the 4th of *Oc-'tober*, 1726, to the *Dutch* Men of War, which 'were in the Port of *Cadiz*, to depart thence in 24 'Hours, without any reaſon for ſuch Violence: 'The Governour having declared beſides, that he 'had Orders not to permit for the future any *Eng-'liſh* or *Dutch* Ship of War to enter that Port.

'As to what you alledge in your foreſaid Letter, 'of Money diſtributed by the King's Order in '*France*, *Holland*, *Sweden*, and *Pruſſia*, his Ma-'jeſty is amazed to find, that the Reſpect due to

'Powers

‘ Powers of that Rank and Figure in *Europe*, has ‘ not been able to protect from ſo unjuſt and vile ‘ an Aſperſion; neither is it to be imagined, how ‘ ſo mean a Piece of Calumny could be offered, as ‘ an Anſwer to the Repreſentation I had made con- ‘ cerning the Remittances publickly made from ‘ *Spain* to the Court of *Vienna*; Remittances ſolli- ‘ cited openly by the Emperor's Ambaſſador, and ‘ demanded by him as Subſidies.

‘ As to the Proceedings of Admiral *Hoſier* in the ‘ *Weſt-Indies*, of which you complain in your Let- ‘ ter, his Majeſty having received no Account ‘ from Admiral *Hoſier* of any ſuch Tranſactions as ‘ are complained of, can ſay nothing to thoſe Facts; ‘ but wonders to ſee the Court of *Spain* making ‘ Complaints of this nature; when, notwithſtanding ‘ the frequent Repreſentations which I have made, ‘ they have not thought fit to put an end to the De- ‘ predations and open Hoſtilities, which have been for ‘ ſome time almoſt daily committed in thoſe Parts ‘ by the *Spaniards*, or to give the King the leaſt ‘ Satisfaction for the Damages done to his Subjects, ‘ in Violation of all Treaties; Damages ſo many ‘ and ſo great, that this Treatment from his Ca- ‘ tholick Majeſty would have ſufficiently juſtified ‘ the King's taking the moſt vigorous Meaſures for ‘ Redreſs. And certainly, though in ſending of ‘ the Squadron under Admiral *Hoſier* to the *Weſt-* ‘ *Indies*, a View was had to the protecting of the ‘ Commerce and Effects of his Majeſty's Subjects; ‘ yet as that Squadron is to remain in thoſe Seas, it ‘ is eaſy to conceive, that the further Conduct of ‘ Admiral *Hoſier*, ought to be regulated by that of ‘ *Spain*.

‘ By this true and impartial State of what has ‘ paſſed between the two Courts, it will appear, not ‘ only how much the King my Maſter has been in- ‘ jured, but how great his Moderation and Love of

'Peace have been, in forbearing to reſent theſe no-
'torious Infractions of Treaties, the dangerous
'Projects formed againſt him and his Dominions,
'and the Hoſtilities committed againſt his Subjects;
'which gave him certainly full Right, not only to
'make uſe of all the Power that God has put into
'his hands, but alſo to call upon his Allies to be
'ready to make good their Engagements to him,
'which the preſent Behaviour and Declarations of
'the Court of *Spain* render inevitable.

'But as his Majeſty, out of a ſincere Deſire to
'ſerve the publick Peace, has hitherto been con-
'tented with putting himſelf into a Poſture of De-
'fence, by making ſuch Armaments by Sea, as
'might effectually ſecure his Subjects and Domi-
'nions from any Inſults or Attempts, and prevent
'the Execution of all ſuch Deſigns and Projects, as
'threatned the Safety and Intereſts of his King-
'doms and of his Allies, as well as the general
'Tranquility of *Europe*; his Catholick Majeſty
'may be aſſured, that if he is diſpoſed to give Sa-
'tisfaction and Reparation to his Majeſty and his
'Allies, and will remove all the juſt Cauſes they
'have of Complaints and Apprehenſions, and re-
'new his former good Correſpondence and Confi-
'dence with his Majeſty and his Allies; his Ma-
'jeſty in conjunction with them, is ſtill ready on
'his part, to do every thing that can contribute to
'the Re-eſtabliſhment of that good Correſpondence
'which he has always been and ſtill is deſirous to
'preſerve and maintain between the two Crowns of
'*Great Britain* and *Spain*.

'This is exactly, Sir, what I have been ordered
'by the King my Maſter to anſwer to your foreſaid
'Letter of the 30th of *September* laſt.

I am, &c.

Wm. Stanhope.

To

To this Letter the Marquis *de la Paz* returned no Anſwer; but on the 21ſt of *September* following, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter at the Court of *Great Britain*, wrote to the principal Secretary of State a clear and full Replication, wherein the Character of the Duke *de Ripperda* is ſo ſtrongly painted, that it cannot but make a very proper Part of his Hiſtory.

Letter from the Marquis de Pozobueno *to the Duke of* Newcaſtle.

1 January, 1727,

London, ——————

21 Dec. 1726.

My Lord,

'THE King my Maſter, after having ſeen and
'been fully informed of the Contents of the
'Letter which Mr. *Stanhope* wrote the 25th of laſt
'Month to the Marquis *de la Paz*, has been pleaſed
'to order me to anſwer it at this Court, Article by
'Article, for avoiding all Ambiguity.

'In the acquitting myſelf then of his Majeſty's
'Orders, I ſhall have the honour to acquaint your
'Excellency, that the King my Maſter cannot com-
'prehend the Reaſon of his *Britannick* Majeſty's
'Surprize, which Mr. *Stanhope* exaggerates in his
'Letter, when he was informed of the Contents
'of that of the Marquis *de la Paz* of the 30th of
'*September* laſt; it being certain, that his *Britannick*
'Majeſty could not but know the Orders he had
'given to Admiral *Hoſier*, when he ſent him with a
'Squadron of Ships of War to the *Indian* Seas, in
'purſuance of which it is to be believed, that Ad-
'miral executed the Hoſtilities in queſtion, which
'Orders no doubt preceeded, and were previous to
'the Complaints that Mr. *Stanhope* made in his
'Memorial to the King my Maſter the 24th of
'*September*; ſo that his *Britannick* Majeſty had no

'Cauſe to be ſurpriſed, and, on the contrary, 'ſhould not have expected any thing elſe, than that 'the King my Maſter would complain loudly, and 'demand Satisfaction for ſo open an Infraction of 'the Peace, and ſuch manifeſt Hoſtilities, as ſoon 'as they ſhould come to his Knowledge; eſpeci-'ally they having been done at a time, when his 'Majeſty relied entirely on the good Faith of the 'Treaties which ſubſiſted with *England*; ſeeing the 'King my Maſter had not made the leaſt Diſpo-'ſition, nor given any Order to his Miniſters, and 'Commanders in the *Indies*, contrary to the Trea-'ties for the Continuance of the Commerce which 'is there permitted and granted; nor prevented by 'Hoſtilities and reciprocal Inſults thoſe which were 'exerciſed, and which were not expected from the 'ſaid Squadron, as was moſt clearly demonſtrated 'by the friendly and voluntary Delivery of the 'licenſed Ship to Admiral *Hoſier* at *Portobello*, tho' 'in ſtrictneſs, that Ship ought to have ſtayed till 'the Galleons had ſailed for *Spain*.

'As to the Complaints, which had likewiſe been 'previouſly exhibited in Mr. *Stanhope*'s Repreſenta-'tion of the 24th of *September*, and which were 'offered as a clear and diſtinct Explanation of the 'Reaſons which obliged the King of *England* to 'ſend out ſuch conſiderable Armaments to make 'their Appearance in different Seas, though the 'Marquis *de la Paz* has already anſwered them 'fully, and ſhewn their Inconſiſtency and the little 'Ground there is for them, nevertheleſs I am or-'dered to ſatisfy again more preciſely on this point 'in the Compaſs of the preſent Anſwer, upon the 'Articles relative to this Subject.

'In anſwering the ſecond Article of Mr. *Stan-'hope*'s Letter, I am to aſſure, that the King my 'Maſter has nothing more at heart, and wiſhes 'nothing ſo much, as the Peace and Tranquility of

'his

‘ his Dominions, and of all *Europe*; and in conſe-
‘ quence would accept with the moſt perfect Satiſ-
‘ faction the Proteſtations which his *Britannick*
‘ Majeſty makes of a ſincere Ardour to preſerve
‘ Peace and good Underſtanding with the Crown
‘ of *Spain*, were it poſſible to combine ſuch ami-
‘ cable Expreſſions with Inſults and Hoſtilities
‘ committed in full Peace.

‘ As to what Mr. *Stanhope* ſays, in his third Ar-
‘ ticle, of threatning Diſcourſes which the Duke of
‘ *Ripperda* might have held at *Vienna*, his Majeſty
‘ can no way be made reſponſible for what the
‘ Duke (whoſe haſty and violent Temper is ſo no-
‘ torious) may have ſaid in the warmth of Conver-
‘ ſation; perhaps likewiſe there might be Perſons
‘ ill-intentioned enough to add to it things of their
‘ own Invention: But as to what was then declared
‘ to Mr. *Stanhope*, by word of Mouth and in Wri-
‘ ting, that the good Correſpondence and Friend-
‘ ſhip with *England* depended abſolutely on the
‘ ſpeedy Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*, I cannot avoid
‘ confirming it anew to your Excellency, by Order
‘ from the King my Maſter, as a Declaration moſt
‘ juſtly founded, inſiſting on that Reſtitution, after
‘ the King of *Great Britain* had on this Point gi-
‘ ven, as he did give, a poſitive Promiſe; beſides,
‘ that on the other hand the Ceſſion which his
‘ Majeſty made precedently of that Place, is become
‘ null, becauſe of the Infractions made in the Con-
‘ ditions on which it was permitted, that the *Eng-*
‘ *liſh* Garriſon ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of *Gi-*
‘ *braltar*; ſeeing that contrary to all the Proteſta-
‘ tions made, they have not only extended their
‘ Fortifications, by exceeding the Limits preſcribed
‘ and ſtipulated, but what is more, contrary to the
‘ expreſs and literal Tenour of the Treaties, they
‘ receive and admit the *Jews* and *Moors* in the ſame
‘ manner as the *Spaniards*, and other Nations con-

‘ founded

'founded and mixed, contrary to our holy Reli-
'gion; not to mention the Frauds and continual
'Contrabands which are carried on there to the
'prejudice of his Majesty's Revenues.

'Mr. *Stanhope*, in the 5th Article of his Letter,
'speaks again of the Duke of *Ripperda*, whereupon
'I repeat, that tho' his Majesty thought fit to re-
'ward that Minister by Employments of his Royal
'Confidence, when he returned from *Vienna* to
'*Madrid*, in regard to a Peace which the King my
'Master wished for, and which he had concluded
'to his Satisfaction, it is not said from thence, that
'his Majesty ought to answer for that Duke's Dis-
'courses, and his vain and strange Notions, which
'at length induced his Majesty, not only to depose
'him from his Employments, but likewise to secure
'the Person of a Minister, who was as dangerous
'as culpable.

'As to the Duke of *Wharton*, denoted by the
'anonymous Person who came from *Rome*, it is a
'notorious and firm Truth, that the King my
'Master, out of a religious and scrupulous Delicacy,
'would never admit that Lord, as all his Court is
'Witness, nor would know any thing of the Con-
'tents of his Credential Letters, nor of the Projects
'with which it is supposed that Duke was dispatch-
'ed and sent from *Rome* to *Madrid*; nor can any
'kind of Consequence be drawn from his having
'had some Conversations with the Duke of *Rip-*
'*perda*, because of the little Reflection, which it is
'already said, was made thereupon; if, after all,
'that be what Mr. *Stanhope* would have understood
'by the Ministers of the King with whom the said
'Duke of *Wharton* treated and conferred.

'His Majesty is likewise ignorant of what is of-
'fered to be inferred from the *Muscovite* Ships,
'upon which Mr. *Stanhope* returns to the Charge in
'his Letter, and what Intelligence or Relation they

'might

' might have had with the Enemies of his *Britannick*
' Majeſty's Government; knowing nothing more,
' than that they came into and went out of the Ports
' of *Spain*, on the ſame foot as the Merchant-Ships
' of other Nations frequent them.

' Moſt true it is, that in that Interval of time
' Ships of War were fitted out, and Troops were
' ordered to march to the Coaſts of *Biſcay* and *Ga-*
' *licia*, becauſe the King my Maſter found him-
' ſelf obliged to make thoſe Diſpoſitions in conſe-
' quence of the certain Advices he received of the
' naval Armaments which were preparing with ſo
' great Diligence in *England*; it not being natural,
' that his Majeſty ſhould leave the Coaſts of *Spain*
' neareſt to *England* intirely open, and the Docks
' at *St. Andero* expoſed to be attacked and burnt
' again.

' Mr. *Stanhope*, in his 5th Article, goes on with
' the Diſcourſes on the Confidence which the Duke
' of *Ripperda* made to him, as well as to the Am-
' baſſador of *Holland*, M. *Vandermeer*, of an Offen-
' ſive Alliance with the Emperor; to which I am
' to anſwer, That altho' the King my Maſter has
' never explained himſelf upon that matter, yet
' the Falſhood of ſuch a Declaration was at firſt
' refuted and repelled on the part of the Imperial
' Court, by aſſuring the *Engliſh* Miniſter at *Vienna*
' of the contrary, and even at the Court of *London*,
' by the Emperor's Miniſter who actually reſides
' there. For the reſt, if the King my Maſter did
' not preſently ſeparate and remove the Duke of
' *Ripperda* from his Employments, and even if
' he did not alledge the falſe Declaration of a ſe-
' cret Treaty and offenſive Alliance for one of
' the Cauſes of his Diſgrace, he had well-grounded
' Reaſons for not doing it, with which his Majeſty
' did not think himſelf obliged to acquaint the
' Publick.

' As

'As to the Company of *Oſtend*, which Matter 'makes the Contents of the 6th, 7th, and 8th 'Articles of Mr. *Stanhope*'s Letter, wherein it is 'affirmed, without giving any proof, that the Na- 'vigation and Commerce of that Company in the '*Eaſt-Indies*, are Infractions and Violations of the '5th and 6th Articles of the Treaty of *Munſter*, 'and of ſeveral others ſubſequent and relative to it, 'it is notorious that his Imperial Majeſty always 'wiſhed to enter into ſome reaſonable Accommo- 'dation upon the Commerce of that Company, and 'that he ſtill actually makes Overtures to the Court 'of *France*, the King my Maſter having offered 'his Mediation, with deſign to quiet the Oppoſi- 'tions and Diſputes ſhewn againſt that Navigation: 'The States General of the United Provinces would 'not admit his Majeſty's Offer, declaring, without 'any Reſerve, to the Emperor's Miniſter at the '*Hague*, that they would not hearken to, nor ad- 'mit of any Propoſition on the part of his Impe- 'rial Majeſty, unleſs before all things, the Patent 'granted to the *Oſtend* Company were revoked. 'Wherefore if that Company has been, as Mr. '*Stanhope* ſays, a Stumbling-Block to Peace, it 'was that Republick which placed it. For the 'reſt, if his Majeſty did declare that he was of a 'Sentiment contrary to the ſaid Company, at the 'time when he was ſtill at War and Enmity with 'the Emperor, it ought not to be deemed ſtrange 'or new, that he has changed his Opinion, after 'having made Peace, and united himſelf with his 'Imperial Majeſty, by the Ties of the moſt ſin- 'cere Friendſhip. Of this the Treaties of Peace fur- 'niſh us with Examples at every ſtep; and in theſe 'latter times no Heſitation or Doubt has been made, 'for attaining the Benefit of Peace and Tranquility, 'of diſpoſing not only of a ſingle Commerce, but 'even of whole Kingdoms and States.

'As

'As to the refuſing Entrance into the Ports of 'Spain to the Ships of Admiral *Jennings*'s Squa-'dron, and the taking away the Duke of *Ripperda* 'by force, two Points which Mr. *Stanhope* has 'touched together in the 9th and 10th Articles, 'exaggerating them as manifeſt Infractions of Trea-'ties, and of the Rights of Nations, and that they 'cannot be looked upon but as Acts of Hoſtility, 'as well as the Violence done to the Conſul of the '*Britiſh* Nation at *St. Sebaſtian*, by forcing him to 'leave it and go to *Salamanca*; adding to all this, 'for a Proof of Hoſtilities committed againſt his '*Britannick* Majeſty's Allies, the Order given for 'making the *Dutch* Ships of War depart the Port 'of *Cadiz*, and not permitting for the future any '*Engliſh* or *Dutch* Man of War to enter; his Ma-'jeſty has commanded me to anſwer thereto in or-'der: Firſt, That the Refuſal to let any Ships of 'War of Admiral *Jennings*'s Squadron enter the 'Ports, was moſt juſtly founded on the Silence 'which the ſaid Admiral, as well as Mr. *Stanhope*, 'tho' requir'd, kept touching the Arrival, Deſti-'nation, and Deſigns of the ſaid Squadron. An In-'attention which the greateſt Powers have never 'ſhewn to any Sovereign State how inconſiderable 'ſoever; and therefore the entertaining of violent 'Suſpicions and Apprehenſions could not be avoid-'ed, ſeeing the pacifick and amicable Aſſurances, 'given by Admiral *Jennings* to the Governours of 'the Ports, who have no Authority to judge of 'them, to admit them, or to rely upon them, could 'at beſt take place only in certain unexpected Ca-'ſes, and on Occaſions, where, at the ſight of the 'evident Danger of a Ship which ſhould implore 'Shelter in a Port, the Governours might judge 'what was proper to be done; but as for a Squa-'dron of Ships of War, which it was notorious 'had been fitted out and ſent with Land-Forces, on

'a

'a known and premeditated Deſign, ſuch particu-
'lar Aſſurances to Governours for entering Ports
'on the frivolous Pretext of watering and taking
'in Proviſions, ſo few days after they had come
'out of their own Ports, are more than ſuſpicious,
'and may be termed injurious between two Powers
'who are at Peace, and who have actually their
'Miniſters in their reſpective Courts, by whoſe
'means a frank Declaration might and ought to
'have been ſent of the Deſtination and Deſigns of
'ſuch an Armament, even before Admiral *Jen-*
'*nings* appeared on the Coaſts of *Spain*.

'As to the taking away of the Duke of *Ripperda*,
'the King my Maſter made known, more than he
'thought he was obliged to do, to all the foreign
'Miniſters who were then at his Court, the Mo-
'tives and Circumſtances of that Step, inconteſta-
'ble with his Right and Royal Authority; ſo that
'it cannot be conſidered as an Infraction of the
'Rights of Nations, from the time his Majeſty
'had declared, after a full Cogniſance and Advice
'of the Royal Council of *Caſtile* had preceeded,
'that the Duke of *Ripperda* was guilty of High
'Treaſon, and conſequently incapable of enjoying
'any Immunity or Sanctuary whatſoever.

'As to the pretended Violence with which Mr.
'*Stanhope* ſays the Conſul whom his *Britannick*
'Majeſty deſigned for *St. Sebaſtian*, was forced to
'leave it, and retire to *Salamanca*, Mr. *Stanhope*
'knows very well, that no Conſul, of what Na-
'tion ſoever, is admitted, till previouſly he has
'obtained the King's Conſent and Cedula of Ap-
'probation; even in the Ports where there are eſta-
'bliſhed Conſuls: but in that of *St. Sebaſtian*, be-
'ſides the fore-mentioned Reaſon, there is another
'yet ſtronger, for neither the *Engliſh* Nation, nor
'any other, have ever enjoyed the Right or ob-
'tained the Uſage of having a Conſul in the Pro-

'vince

'vince of *Guipuſcoa*; ſo that not only it ought 'not to be thought ſtrange that ſuch a Conſul was 'refuſed Admiſſion, and that he was ordered to 'retire elſewhere, but likewiſe his Majeſty might 'juſtly reſent, that on this Occaſion the ſame thing 'is alledged that has been on others, the having 'given Excluſion to Conſuls of the *Britiſh* Nation 'in the ſame Quarter, and that the ſame Papers 'are offered him again.

'What Mr. *Stanhope* finally adds, about the Or-'der given at *Cadiz* for making the *Dutch* Men of 'War depart that Port, and not permitting for the 'future any *Engliſh* or *Dutch* Ship of War to enter 'it, was and is intirely juſtified by what has already 'been ſignified above, in ſpeaking of the Ships of 'the Squadron commanded by Admiral *Jennings*; 'and the States-General ought not to be ſurprized 'at this Novelty, it being ſo natural that they 'ſhould be treated without any Difference from the '*Engliſh*, after their Acceſſion to the Treaty of '*Hanover*.

'Mr. *Stanhope*, in the 11th Article in his Letter 'grows warm, and explains himſelf with ſome Paſ-'ſion upon what the Marquis *de la Paz* intimated 'to him in his Letter of the 30th of *September* laſt, 'with reſpect to Money diſtributed in *Holland*, in '*Sweden*, and in *Pruſſia*; and, it not being a new 'thing, or unworthy a Prince or State, to give or 'receive Money in return for the Services done each 'other, it cannot be thought the Marquis *de la* '*Paz* had an Intention to blame Mr. *Stanhope* for 'it, nor to complain of it by Order of the King my 'Maſter; but only to anſwer Mr. *Stanhope* as to the 'Account he would aſk of his Majeſty, on the part 'of the King of *Great Britain*, touching the Subſi-'dies ſent the Emperor.

'When Mr. *Stanhope* tells the Marquis *de la* '*Paz* in the 12th Article, that reſpectively on the

'Conduct

'Conduct of Admiral *Hoſier* in the *Weſt-Indies* he
'could give no Anſwer, becauſe his *Britannick*
'Majeſty had not yet received any Advice of the
'leaſt thing among thoſe which gave ground to the
'Complaint of the King my Maſter, he did not re-
'member probably what he had ſaid to the Mar-
'quis *de la Paz*, the 23d of *October*, the Court be-
'ing at the Eſcurial, how he had received Order
'by an Expreſs to communicate to his Majeſty the
'Operations of the Squadron, commanded by Ad-
'miral *Hoſier* in the *Indies*, but that he had not
'haſtened to do it, knowing the King my Maſter
'was already informed of them directly; where-
'fore it cannot well be conceived, for what Reaſon
'his *Britannick* Majeſty ſhould be ſo much ſur-
'prized at *Spain*'s forming Complaints of ſuch a na-
'ture. The King my Maſter was more juſtly ſur-
'prized, that ſuch glaring Hoſtilities ſhould be pre-
'tended to be juſtified, by the Pretext that Juſtice
'has not been done upon the repeated Complaints
'of Mr. *Stanhope*, with reſpect to ſo many *Engliſh*
'Ships, which, 'tis exaggerated, have been taken
'and pillaged by the Guarda-Coſtas of his Majeſty
'in the *Indies*, it being evident that no ſpecifick
'Caſe of any ſuch Prizes has yet been ſeen. What
'is certain, is, that *Engliſh* Ships, and others of o-
'ther Nations, which have been attacked and taken
'in thoſe Seas, were contraband and good Prize,
'becauſe of the unlawful Commerce they exerciſed
'or endeavoured to exerciſe in the *Indies*. The
'very Places only where they were met and taken,
'is a ſufficient Proof of a Navigation forbid by the
'Tenour of Treaties: It is therefore neceſſary to
'believe, that the Stay of Admiral *Hoſier* in the
'*Indies*, has no other view than to protect a pro-
'hibited and contraband Commerce, and ſo contra-
'ry to what has been ſo ſolemnly ſtipulated and trea-
'ted; for as to lawful and allowed Commerce, his
'Majeſty

'Majeſty has hitherto let the *Engliſh* Nation enjoy 'with all ſafety the notorious Advantages and Pre-'ferences with which the King my Maſter had diſ-'tinguiſhed them from all other Nations, tho' on 'that ſide that Benefit has likewiſe been abuſed, by 'the extending it there much beyond the Conceſ-'ſions ſtipulated.

'The longer Stay of the *Engliſh* Squadron in thoſe 'Seas will therefore be a Continuance of voluntary 'Hoſtilities authorized by his *Britannick* Majeſty, 'and as ſuch the King my Maſter does already and 'will look upon them.

'After all that has been ſaid, it remains only to 'make a Compariſon between the Force which la-'boured Pretexts and groundleſs Suſpicions may 'have, and real and direct Hoſtilities, with the 'Continuance of which we are ſtill threatned. By this 'Examination a Judgment may be formed of the 'Sincerity and Impartiality of what has been exhi-'bited by Mr. *Stanhope*. All reaſonable and indif-'ferent Perſons will ſee and acknowledge, that it 'is the King my Maſter, who is attacked contrary 'to all Reaſon and Juſtice, and who already actu-'ally ſuffers ſuch notorious Prejudices, by the hin-'drance given to the Fair of *Panama*, and to the 'Return of his Armaments of the Flota and Gal-'leons, In which the *Engliſh* Nation itſelf, with all 'others, who are intereſted in the Courſe of that 'Commerce, ſuffer jointly with his Majeſty's Sub-'jects the great Damages reſulting from the Delay 'of thoſe Returns.

'The King my Maſter thinks himſelf juſtified 'before God and Man, to repel theſe Injuries and 'Hoſtilities with all the Power that the Divine 'Goodneſs and Providence has put into his hands; 'and to have a Right to require of his Allies the 'Succours they are engaged to furniſh.

'His Majeſty, who with no leſs Ardour and 'Sincerity than his Allies, has always deſired the

‘ Peace and Tranquility of *Europe*, would be ſatiſ-
‘ fied with the Expreſſions with which Mr. *Stanhope*
‘ concludes his Letter on the ſame Deſires and In-
‘ clinations of his *Britannick* Majeſty, whenever
‘ the Words ſhould have the leaſt Shadow of Rela-
‘ tion with the Facts. The King my Maſter pro-
‘ teſts and aſſures, that he has never done nor ſought
‘ to do any wrong to the *Engliſh* Nation, and that all
‘ the Deſigns imputed to him againſt his *Britannick*
‘ Majeſty and his Dominions are invented, and with-
‘ out his Knowledge. But his Majeſty declares like-
‘ wiſe at the ſame time, that in the violent State to
‘ which things are at laſt reduced by the Miniſtry
‘ of *England*, he neither can nor will hearken any
‘ more to any Complaint, Inſtance, or Accommo-
‘ dation, while his *Britannick* Majeſty ſhall be with
‘ Arms in hand, in the Dominions of his Majeſty,
‘ as he is effectually with one Squadron on the Coaſts
‘ and Seas of *Spain*, and with another in thoſe of the
‘ *Indies*, and while Hoſtilities are continued in the
‘ ſaid Dominions, as is threatned by the longer Stay
‘ of the *Engliſh* Squadron in the Seas of *America*,
‘ eſpecially when it is notorious, that for reinforce-
‘ ing the ſaid Squadron four other Ships of War
‘ are fitting out in *England*, and two others for
‘ that which is in the Seas and on the Coaſts of
Spain.

I have the Honour to be, with the moſt perfect Conſideration, My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt humble, and moſt obedient Servant,

De Pozobueno.

In proportion as Affairs grew imbroiled, the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Hopes increaſed; but when they were at the height, that is, when he look'd upon it as a thing certain, that the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry could not long manage Affairs without him, ſome Friends of his ſent him word, that having with difficulty obtained leave, they would ere long come and ſpend

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a few hours with him. His Excellency received this Meſſage with much Satisfaction, and returned for Anſwer, that much greater Misfortunes than thoſe he had undergone, could not break the Spirits of a Man happy as he was in ſuch faithful Friends. He ſpoke of this Incident to his Miſtreſs, and to his faithful Servant, as of a good Omen, with reſpect not only to Liberty, but Power; he perſuaded himſelf, that the *Spaniards* ſaw at laſt their Error, and that to prevent Poverty and Confuſion, it was determined to call him to Court. No wonder if this ſpecious Viſion delighted the Thoughts of an ambitious Man, whoſe Fancy was ever on the wing, to whom Solitude was the greateſt Curſe, and in whoſe opinion Happineſs could never ſubſiſt independent of Power.

But if his Dreams pleaſed him, he did not enjoy them long, the Preſence of his Friends ſerving to diſſolve that Charm, into which, by the ſtrength of his Imagination, he had converted their Meſſage. They came at their time, dined with him, and after Dinner was over, and they had kindly condoled with him on his preſent Circumſtances, they frankly told the Duke, that they ſaw but little hopes of his obtaining his Liberty, the rather becauſe what he fancied would have moſt contributed thereto, ſeem'd to them the chief Obſtacle in procuring it. In a word, like true Friends, they dealt with him plainly, and repreſented to him the Differences between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Great Britain*, as the great Source of his Diſaſters. At this, the Duke loſt his Temper a little. He ſaid, he ought to be allowed ſome Judgment in his own Affairs, and that if he had any, the Diſtreſſes of the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry muſt be the Key which opened the Gate of his Priſon. Your Excellency, reply'd one of his Friends, hath too much Knowledge, and too much Experience, not to be a proper Judge in all things, and eſpecially in your own Affairs; if you had the

ſame Lights which other People have, but for want of theſe, Sir, you miſtake. For want of theſe, permit me to ſay, without putting you in a paſſion, you take things to be eaſy, which are in themſelves impracticable, and believe thoſe things will be the neceſſary Conſequences of certain Meaſures, which we know but too well can never follow from them. We are ſenſible of the Injuries that have been done your Excellency; we are acquainted with the great Services you have render'd *Spain*; and we are not ignorant of the ſtill greater Advantages which you hope to procure for her. But, Sir, we know too in what light you are conſidered by your Enemies, and in what light they repreſent you to their Majeſties. The *Engliſh* Miniſter, on whom you ſo much depend, daily preſents Memorials which ſupport the Charges brought againſt you, by thoſe who have ſupplanted you. In all probability, a War will follow between the two Crowns, which the King will be made to believe, is the Effects either of your Treachery or Indiſcretion. Conſider, Sir, that this muſt unite him more cloſely to thoſe who at preſent enjoy his Confidence, and muſt remove him ſtill farther than ever from all Thoughts of imploying you. As Friends, we are conſtrained to tell you this; as Flatterers, we needed only to have concurr'd in your own Notions, we ſhould then have deſerved your Anger, whereas now we can only bear it.

Is it thus then, reply'd the Duke, that the *Spaniards* reward a Man who has ſerved them ſo effectually? Is it thus that they pay the Toil with which I laboured to eſtabliſh that Manufactory that ſtill flouriſhes in the very ſame Place where I am impriſoned? Is it thus they recompenſe my painful Embaſſy at *Vienna?* and is this all I am to expect for that Diligence with which I diſcharged as many Offices as would have embaraſs'd ſix of their ableſt Stateſmen?

Stateſmen? Well! all this I can the more eaſily bear, becauſe I foreſaw it; I knew that it muſt be one day or other my Fate, becauſe, being a Stranger, and having all things in my power, I did nothing to deſerve it. Thoſe, who perſecute me, muſt know this beſt, and to them I would appeal, if I might be aſſured they would ſpeak impartially their Sentiments. But there are two things exceedingly chagrin me. The firſt is, that I muſt be content to lie under the Imputations heaped upon me, having no way left of demonſtrating my Innocence. The other, that I muſt be buried under the Ruins of my former Fortune, without having ſo much as a Chance for overcoming my Enemies, or at leaſt making this lazy, proud, and ungrateful Nation ſenſible of their Folly, in treating thus a Man equally capable of protecting or of plaguing them. Theſe! theſe! are my Tortures, and not the Walls which confine me; I deſpiſe the Rage of my Enemies, and fear only the Tumults in my own Breaſt. But perhaps——————perhaps ——————I ſay no more; I think the reſt; and it depends on Providence, whether I ſhall ſuffer moſt from the Ingratitude of the *Spaniards*, or the *Spaniards* from the Senſe I have of their Ingratitude.

His Friends were amazed at this Diſcourſe, and believing that the News they had brought him had for a time prejudiced his Senſes, took their leaves ſoon after, and left him under the higheſt Concern. They carried their Tenderneſs ſo far, as on their Return to Court, to repreſent to ſome Perſons of Diſtinction the Hardſhips under which the Duke *de Ripperda* laboured, and the Danger there was that a Man of ſo warm and violent a Temper might take ſome Step, which might not do much honour to thoſe who had been buſieſt in his Proſecution. How well ſoever they intended, theſe Repreſentations had like to have proved fatal to the Duke.

The Miniſtry reſolving with themſelves, in caſe what had been ſuggeſted appeared to have been true, to place Guards in the Duke's Chamber, or to tranſport him to *Pampelona*; either of which would have mortified him exceſſively. But his own Conduct warded this Blow. For upon a Letter of Inquiry, directed to the Under-keeper of *Sevogia*, he returned ſo favourable a Report, that all Thoughts of this kind were laid entirely aſide, and the Repreſentations before-mentioned were looked upon only as Artifices.

The Duke, when he had thoroughly conſider'd what his Friends had ſaid, and compared it with the Advices that were brought him daily from Court by his Servant, began to deſpair of ever ſeeing himſelf at liberty, the Thoughts of which render'd him altogether inconſolable; ſo that notwithſtanding the Careſſes of the fair *Caſtilian*, he grew more melancholy than ever, ſpoke little, made ſhort Meals, and, which in all his Misfortunes he had never done, ſlept uneaſily, and very ſeldom. It is impoſſible to expreſs the Tenderneſs of the *Caſtilian*, or the exceſſive Concern of his Valet, at the ſight of this Alteration in his Behaviour; they tried every Method to divert him, they doubled their Diligence in ſerving him, and they expreſt in the moſt affectionate Terms their earneſt Deſires, to do, if it were poſſible, ſtill more than they did. The Duke appeared to be much affected therewith, and ſometimes endeavoured to put on an Air of Gaiety, but he could not ſupport it long; and then his next Fit of Sadneſs was deeper, and more affecting than otherwiſe.

One day, when his Excellency was in a deep Reverie, the fair Lady could not help complaining, that he kept his Sorrows too much to himſelf. *If I do*, ſaid the Duke with a Sigh, *it is becauſe I think it to no purpoſe to reveal them. I am weary of*

of being here, I wiſh to be ſomewhere elſe, I am by nature impatient of being long in one Place. Both his Confidents aſſured him, that they were very ſorry for his Situation, and that there was nothing they would not hazard to do him ſervice. I believe it, ſaid the Duke, and I believe alſo, that my getting from hence is not an impoſſible thing. He then explained to them the Situation of the Caſtle, and the Country round about it, with which he was extremely well acquainted; aſſured them, that nothing would be more eaſy than to get ſafely to a Sea-Port, provided he was once without the Walls, which he owned was the only thing he knew not how to contrive, and which he therefore would leave entirely to them. The Lady promiſed him all that was in her power, and aſſured him, ſhe would never ſeparate herſelf from him, let his Condition be what it would. His Valet ſaid, that the Buſineſs of his Life was to pleaſe his Lord, and that when he could no longer pleaſe him, he ſhould think he had no farther Buſineſs with Life. The Duke teſtified the higheſt Pleaſure on receiving theſe Aſſurances; his Melancholy inſenſibly wore off, and his Thoughts being now imployed on a new and agreeable Object, his uſual Quickneſs of Underſtanding and wonted Facility of overcoming Difficulties returned.

From the time they entered into theſe Conſultations, they found it neceſſary for them all to alter their Conduct. The Duke appeared more attentive than ever to the Lady, and kinder than uſual to his Servant. Whereas the Lady viſited him leſs frequently, ſeemed indifferent when with him, and ſpoke careleſly of him when abſent. The Valet too expreſſed no great Liking to his troubleſome Office, and they both diſſembled ſo handſomly, that the Keeper took pains to reconcile them to the Duke, and to engage them not to deſert him in his Afflictions. Things being ſafe within, the Duke began

firſt to operate without doors; the Bulk of his Effects were long before convey'd out of *Spnin*, and now what was left was converted into Bills of Exchange on Merchants in *Holland* and *England*. Horſes were alſo bought at *Madrid* fit for ſuch a Journey, and care was taken to find a Perſon faithful, and knowing enough to be their Guide from the Caſtle to the Sea, to whoſe care the Horſes were committed, and who had it in charge to provide whatever was neceſſary for the Journey. The Duke himſelf foreſaw, that there was no going out by the great Gate, becauſe his Lodgings lying at the back of the Caſtle, he would have been obliged to have traverſed various Apartments, with inexpreſſible Hazard. This Miſchief the Lady removed, by conveying out of the Keeper's Apartment the Key of a little Flower-Garden, into which the Valet's Bed-Chamber look'd. In this Garden he and ſhe prepared a Silk Ladder, long enough to reach from the Wall to the Ground; and when they had prepared, they hid it under a Place where the Gardeners kept their Tools. They next removed their moſt valuable Effects into the Duke's Bed-chamber, and all things happily finiſhed, they waited only for Moon-light Nights to attempt the Execution of their Enterprize. An Enterprize equally raſh and dangerous in itſelf, and which nothing but their Succeſs could have rendered feaſible in any wiſe Man's Opinion. But what is it that a diſappointed Stateſman, a Woman in love, or a faithful Servant, will not attempt?

As ſoon as the Nights grew favourable to their Scheme, all things were put in order, and more than ordinary Care was taken by the ſeveral Perſons concerned to remove by their Behaviour all Jealouſy of their Intent. In this they ſucceeded to their Wiſh, the Keeper conceiving them to be much leſs united than they had formerly been, and having

having no notion of the Poſſibility there was of the Duke's getting away, conſidering the Condition he was in. His Attacks of the Gout, as they were frequent and violent, had left a great Stiffneſs in his Limbs, and as he was at this time hardly recovered from a Fit, it ſeemed impracticable, and indeed it would have been ſo, for him to have croſſed the Apartments to the outer Gate. All therefore who had any Concern in keeping him, looked upon it as a very eaſy Taſk. For tho' they had a very high Opinion of his Skill and Addreſs, yet they had no Idea of his conjuring, without which they thought he could never paſs the high Walls of the Caſtle. This Security of theirs appeared ſo plainly in their Words and Actions, that it mightily encouraged the Duke and his Confidents in carrying on their Deſign.

The Evening being fixt for this extraordinary Exploit, the Duke retired a little ſooner than uſual to his Apartment, where the fair *Caſtilian* lay concealed. The firſt thing they did, was to remove all their valuable Effects into the Garden behind their Apartment, where having made them up into a Bale, the Valet, with much difficulty, fixed the Ladder of Ropes on the other ſide of the Wall, to the Top of which he eaſily aſcended by the help of the Gardener's Ladder. When he was come down he went to the Place of Rendezvous, and there, to his inexpreſſible joy, found his Guide with his Horſes, and Poſt-Chaiſe. He brought the Man with him back to the Caſtle, made him aſcend the Wall where their Moveables were placed ready pack'd up, and were by him brought down to the Valet, who went with them to the Chaiſe, leaving the Man to wait for the Duke. Theſe Tranſactions of courſe took up a great deal of time, but inaſmuch as there was not the leaſt Danger of their being overheard, they did not hurry themſelves; and to this we ought chiefly to aſcribe that Facility with

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which they executed their Project. All things fixt, the Lady went to the Duke's Apartment, and brought him with her into the Garden. He was extremely well pleased with the Account she gave him of the Manner in which hitherto the Affair had been conducted. But when he came to consider the Height of the Wall, he was not a little disconcerted. I should, said he, find no difficulty in descending, but stiff and feeble as I am, I shall never be able to get to the Top. With much ado, the Lady perswaded him to make a Trial. At her Request, he, with much pain, clambered up the first Steps of the Ladder, where she desired him to halt and rest himself. She then mounted the Ladder herself, took the Duke's Feet in her Hands, and, at the hazard of her Life, lifted them by Turns from Step to Step, till in an Hour's time he got to the top of the Wall; from whence, as he predicted, he descended with much greater ease, and after him the fair *Castilian*. When they were got down into the Field, they rested themselves for some time, and when the Duke had recruited his Spirits, the Lady and his Guide assisted him in getting to the Place where the Horses and Chaise waited for him, and where his Valet had already put all things in order. The rest of the Journey was no less prosperous than the beginning; insomuch that they arrived at *St. Andero*, not only without Hazard, but without Alarm; and the same Evening got on board a Ship in the Road, the Master of which put to Sea instantly; so that the next day by Noon, they were absolutely out of the reach of their Enemies.

As for the Under-keeper of the Castle of *Segovia*, he did not discover the Duke's Escape till all Pursuit was in a manner vain. He saw his Apartment shut at eleven, but as the Duke very often lay a-bed late, and appeared the Day before to be extremely indisposed, the Keeper, far from suspecting any thing,

thing, imagined, that the Duke was worſe, and therefore gave Orders, that no Noiſe ſhould be made near his Lodgings, nor any body pretend to knock at his Door; but when it grew towards One, and the Duke's Servant did not appear, he was aſtoniſhed, and conſidering how far his own Safety was concerned, ordered the Door to be broke open, which diſcovered what uſe the Duke had made of the extraordinary Indulgence ſhewn him, and how adroitly he had reſcued himſelf from his Captivity, notwithſtanding the ſevere Attacks of his Gout, which were looked upon as ſo many natural Fetters, that would effectually chain him to the Place of his Confinement.

In this Situation, the Keeper did the wiſeſt thing he could do, he gave immediate Advice of the Duke's Eſcape to the Miniſtry; and they no ſooner had this News, than they diſpatched Officers of Juſtice on all ſides. Theſe upon ſome falſe Information or other, imagined the Duke was to take ſhipping at *Cadiz*, and on this Surmiſe made all the haſte thither they could. But when they came thither, and began to make the neceſſary Inquiries, they were not a little aſtoniſhed to hear that it was more probable, that the Duke was in *Holland*, ſome Perſons in that City having received Notice, that the Ship, with a fair Wind, had paſt the *Streights* three Days before. Upon this, all Search ceaſed, and theſe People returned inſtantly to *Madrid*.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the Stir this Accident occaſioned in the Capital of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. All the Inhabitants of *Madrid* are Politicians by Profeſſion, and aſſemble in Groupes, in the Cool of the Evening, to ſettle the Affairs of the Nation, and to give Laws to *Chriſtendom*. Within an hour after the News was known at Court, a hundred extraordinary Aſſemblies were held in the Streets, and nothing was to be heard; but *He is gone, the Duke*

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de Ripperda *has made his Eſcape! He has found a way to run notwithſtanding his Gout.* Then they ran over all the Inſtances of theſe ſort of Eſcapes that had ever come to their Knowledge. Some went as high as the Eſcape of *Antonio Perez*, Miniſter to King *Philip* II. Others commended the Wiſdom of the Duke *de Lerina*, who to ſave his Head, cover'd it with a Cardinal's Cap. But moſt contented themſelves with enumerating the Wonders of the preſent Reign, the Deſertion of the *Conſtable* of *Caſtile*; the Diſgrace of the Duke *de Medina Celi*; the Ruin of the two Cardinal-Miniſters; and all the leſſer Occurrences of thoſe Years teeming with ſtrange Events, immediately ſucceeding the Death of their laſt Prince of the *Auſtrian* Line. The Sum of all was, that this Affront was not to be endured, and that the flying Miniſter was to be retaken whereſoever he was heard of. But wiſe People thought in another manner, they look'd upon this Eſcape as a piece of good Luck to the Miniſtry, and thought they had full as much reaſon to be ſatisfied therewith as the Duke himſelf.

The Ducheſs *de Ripperda*, and her Son, were among the number of thoſe who were beſt pleaſed with this extraordinary Event; they could not diveſt themſelves of all Regard for a Perſon in ſo near a Relation to them, and therefore they were extremely rejoiced at the Thoughts of ſeeing him in ſuch a Situation, as rendered him his own Maſter, and left them at liberty to conduct their Affairs as they thought fit. The Ducheſs however appeared in publick not a little concerned at the manner of his Flight, and eſpecially as to the Circumſtance of the *Caſtilian*. Whether it really chagrin'd her ſo much, may well be made a queſtion, ſince the Duke could now no longer contribute to his Lady's Greatneſs or Reputation, which appeared

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the more independent, and the more ſtrongly the Effects of her own Merit, both by his Abſence, and by thoſe Circumſtances of his Eſcape, which ſeem'd to detract from that high Reputation which he had formerly attained. Be this as it would, the Ducheſs after a time reſumed her old manner of converſing and living in the World, giving herſelf up entirely to Acts of Devotion and Charity, and to thoſe Viſits of Civility and Decency, which ſuited her Rank, without troubling herſelf about the Duke, or ſo much as giving ear to thoſe Diſcourſes which his future Exploits raiſed about him; ſo effectually does Diſaſter perform the Buſineſs of an Eccleſiaſtical Court, and divorce the unlucky, without the tedious Ceremonies of a legal Proceſs.

What the real Sentiments of the Court were on the Duke's retiring could not then, nor can now be known. The common Opinion was, and perhaps it might be true, that his Eſcape did not diſpleaſe the Miniſtry. Whether it did or did not, it certainly hurt the Nation. An ambitious quick-witted Stateſman is equally dangerous, when in, and when out of Power, when at Liberty, and when in Priſon. In reſpect of Juſtice, it is certain private Men have a Right to it as well as Societies; but in Equity, I am afraid the old Maxim will be held reaſonable, —— *Better one Man than a whole People.* It is a good Rule, *Summum Jus, ſumma Injuria. The Extremity of Juſtice is Injuſtice.* The common Interpretation is, that where an Offender is puniſhed with the utmoſt Rigour, there Cruelty rather than Juſtice preſides. But in Policy, I doubt the Conſtruction will fall the other way. When an Iſſue is to be tried between one Man and the Society; doing him ſtrict Juſtice may prove injurious to many. They were certainly to blame who adviſed the proſecuting the Duke *de Ripperda* without Proofs; but when this was done,

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it ought to have been brought to a fair Concluſion. A ſolemn Trial, and a final Deciſion, had ſaved the King's Honour, and the Reputation of the Government. And tho' the Duke *de Ripperda* had been abſolved of Treaſon, yet his Indiſcretions might have been ſo cenſured, as to have juſtified his Impriſonment. His Removal would have been accounted for by that Cenſure, and his former Services might have been recompenſed by an honourable Government in the *Indies*, where his ſtirring Genius, and the great Capacity he had for Trade, might have done much good, and could not poſſibly have done hurt. Perhaps, ſome may think, I deliver my Sentiments too freely. And why? Are not Miniſters Men? Is not the Art of Governing a Science? Are not Diſcourſes of this ſort of all others the moſt uſeful? A *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian would reaſon freely upon *Engliſh* Affairs, and therefore why may not I upon the Affairs of *Spain?*

While the Duke *de Ripperda* was at Sea, he had time enough to make his Acknowledgments to thoſe who had been inſtrumental in his Eſcape, who had now attached themſelves to his Fortunes, and whoſe Dependence was ſolely on his Gratitude. As to the Lady, ſhe loved him ſo tenderly, that all the Variations in his Temper, which were not a few, did not in the leaſt abate either her Affection, or her Manner of expreſſing it. She was in Raptures when he was pleaſed to put on the Lover, ſhe was ſubmiſſive when he acted towards her like a Maſter, and patient when he play'd the Tyrant. His *French* Valet had a Fidelity founded a good deal in Intereſt, for as the Duke was very generous, and made him his Confident in Love and in Politicks, the Man had Wit enough to know he ſhould never have a better Maſter, and conſidering alſo, that he had a Taſte for Pleaſure, and ſometimes took great Liberties, ſaw little Proſpect of his having an eaſier, and there-

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fore relied ſteadily on the Duke's Promiſes, as having no Temptation to rely on any other thing from as fair an Appearance. As for the *Spaniard*, he was the Entertainment of the whole Veſſel. His Pockets were well lined with the Duke's Gold; and tho' his Habit did not ſpeak him a Perſon of great Diſtinction, yet he created himſelf ſo upon the ſpot, took the Title of *Don*, ſtrutted about upon the Deck as if he had been an Admiral, and in three days time gave the Duke to underſtand, that he expected a good Eſtate ſhould be ſettled upon him, as ſoon as ever they ſet foot in *England*. Without queſtion, that Nobleman intended nothing more than to have gratified him in ſuch a manner as ſuited the Service he had done, and the Quality of him for whom it was done; but our *Spaniard* fruſtrated his kind Intentions by ſuch an abſurd Behaviour, and by ſuch an exceſſive Profuſion, that tho' he would never abandon him, yet he was obliged to reſtrain him to his Board and a weekly Allowance, with which being diſguſted, he entered into the *Dutch* Service, where he ſtill remains. During the Voyage all things went happily, the Weather was pleaſant, the Wind fair, the Duke in high Spirits, and all the Company well pleaſed, becauſe flattered with great Expectations from the known Generoſity of him they had on board.

It ſo happened, that there was in the Veſſel an *Iriſh* Officer, who had been in the *Spaniſh* Service, a Man in Years, whoſe Name was Don *Thomas* or *Tomaſo Bourk*. He had Parts and Learning, which the Duke ſoon diſcovered, and therefore made him his principal Companion. This Gentleman had ſerved in *Spain* near thirty Years, and had paſt thither with a Recommendation from the Duke of *Berwick*. He had been well known to all the Prime Miniſters under King *Philip*, and was among the number of thoſe who were imployed to arreſt the Duke *de*

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Medina Celi, which was looked upon to be a difficult piece of Service, and was performed with equal Fidelity and Spirit. As he was a ſingle Man, and had lived frugally, he had ſaved Money, and being deſirous of ſeeing his Relations, intended to go firſt into *Ireland*, and then to *London*, where he purpoſed to ſpend the Remainder of his Days. He had in his Youth a regular Education, and had never ſuffered that Learning he then acquired to ruſt for want of uſe: He had ſtudied War as a Science, and looked on his Experience therein, in the ſame light a Trader conſiders his Skill in Commerce. Yet he was far from being a military Pedant, on the contrary, he was a little ſceptical in his Notions; and tho' he confeſſed, that Safety was always the Work of Conduct, yet he believed, that the Succeſs of the greateſt Generals was very often due to Chance. His Converſation with the Ship's Crew was on general Subjects, and chiefly on thoſe which they underſtood beſt. The firſt Day he avoided ſpeaking to, or coming near the Duke of *Ripperda*, having known him perſonally; but the next Day, the Duke ſpoke to him of his own accord, and thenceforward they converſed freely, his Excellency being charmed to find a Man of ſuch extenſive Knowledge, and ſo capable of arguing with him on thoſe Subjects on which he choſe to diſcourſe, and which, for private Reaſons, he was deſirous of viewing and conſidering in every poſſible Light.

This Don *Tomaſo*, in conſequence of his having been long in his Catholick Majeſty's Service, had acquired a great Affection for the Royal Family, as alſo for the *Spaniſh* Nation. He always ſpoke of the former in terms of the utmoſt Reſpect, and of the latter, as of the moſt honourable People on the Face of the Earth. It is very probable, the Duke did not agree with him exactly in his Notions tho' he did not immediately diſcover ſo much. Yet he would

ſometimes

take an Opportunity of rallying his Companion on the high Admiration of his Friends the *Spaniards*, whom he affirmed to be a vicious, weak, untractable People; unable to do much in conſequence of their own Abilities, and as unable to make a right and generous Uſe of the Abilities of Strangers. This, ſaid the Duke, I ſpeak perhaps out of prejudice. You know, my Friend, that a Man's Reaſon is oftner guided by his Paſſions, than they are by it. I am in the humour at preſent to depreciate a little the Credit of this haughty Nation, as you are in the humour of crying it up. Variety of Diſpoſitions occaſion a Harmony in Converſation, as a Variety of Inſtruments pleaſe us in a Concert. To amuſe each other, is all we aim at here; you cannot pretend to conquer Provinces, for thoſe to whom you think your ſelf ſo much obliged; nor can I a miſerable Exile, without Country, without Friends, without Money more than is neceſſary to ſubſiſt me, ever hope to prejudice thoſe who have ruined me, even if I was ſo little a Chriſtian as to deſire it: But we may diſcourſe of theſe things, you may draw a Picture of that great and powerful Nation, which you ſo much revere, and I may return you a few ſcatter'd Hints of the Flaws in the State of *Spain*, which you may either have overlook'd for want of Attention, or deſignedly paſt by out of a Tenderneſs for your beloved Friends.

As for me, Sir, returned the Gentleman, I ſhall very readily converſe with you on what Subject you pleaſe; no Man can be more ſenſible than I, of the Honour you do me; and as you ſay, I know not any Point, which in a free Diſcourſe can give more Pleaſure than ſuch a one as you have propoſed. I am very far from thinking, that there is any ſort of Equality between that ſort of Knowledge, which in my way of Living, I have pick'd up, and what you muſt ſtand poſſeſs'd of in conſequence of the greater and better Lights

you have received in reſpect to ſuch Matters. But as all Men of Senſe regulate their Opinions, according to the Degrees of their own Knowledge, ſo I think I am not very culpable, if I have fallen into any Miſtakes, in conſequence of the Obſervations I have my ſelf made, and for want of being acquainted with thoſe, which men in higher Stations of Life have continual Opportunities of making, beſides the additional Advantage of having them made for them. I cannot help thinking, that the *Spaniſh* Monarchy is very powerful, when I conſider the rich and ſpacious inland Provinces which ſhe poſſeſſes. I call them Provinces, becauſe I would lay no ſtreſs on their being ſtiled Kingdoms, as they generally are. *Navarre*, *Arragon*, the two *Caſtiles*, *Leon*, and *Eſtramadura*, are noble Countries, and far from being ſo poor as they are ſometimes repreſented; though, without queſtion, they might be render'd much more rich and populous than they are, which I ſuppoſe will be done in time. *Biſcay*, *Auſturias*, and *Galicia*, look upon the Ocean, and afford various Ports, which, tho' they cannot be called excellent, are many of them commodious, and very fit for Trade. On the *Mediterranean* again, lie the Kingdoms of *Andaluſia*, *Grenada*, *Murcia*, *Valentia*, and the noble Principality of *Catalonia*. It cannot be denied, but many of theſe Countries abound with the Neceſſaries of Life, and all might abound with them, and doubtleſs will, when proper Meaſures are taken. I ſay nothing of the Iſlands poſſeſſed by the *Spaniſh* Crown, or of its Pretenſions to certain Dominions in *Italy*, becauſe I ground my Judgment on the natural Force of *Spain*, which I take to be rather diminiſhed than increaſed, by the Adjunction of diſtant Dominions. On this account I conclude that ſhe is now more powerful, or at leaſt more formidable to her Neighbours, than ſhe hath ever been ſince the days of *Charles* V. For now ſhe hath

hath not that Drain of the *Netherlands*, nor any of thoſe hard-to-be-kept Sovereignties in *Italy*, which ſo much embaraſſed her former Monarchs; and as ſhe is freed from theſe Inconveniencies, ſo is ſhe likewiſe delivered from another and a greater, the continual Fear of *France*, and the Pretenſions of that Crown on Part of her Dominions, which, tho' not very valuable in themſelves, yet would have been deſperate Thorns in her ſide if poſſeſſed by ſuch a Neighbour. I likewiſe reckon the late War, how ruinous ſoever it may at the firſt ſight appear, a conſiderable Advantage to the *Spaniſh* Nation; inaſmuch that it hath rouſed them from that Lethargy, in which they had lain ſo long, renewed their martial Spirit, and given them a better Taſte in reſpect to Government, Trade, and the Sciences. I likewiſe think, that all I have advanced is fully ſupported by the mighty Efforts made by Cardinal *Alberoni*, which, I think, I may venture to affirm were briſker, and had a greater Probability of Succeſs, than any thing undertaken by the three laſt *Auſtrian* Kings. On the whole, when I conſider what *Spain* was at the Death of King *Charles* II. when I remember that the Garriſon of ſo important a Place as *Gibraltar* did not conſiſt of above 300 Men: when I remember the beſt Fortreſſes conſiſting of ruined Walls, mounted with here and there a ruſty Cannon, and the Man thought an able Engineer, who knew how to fire them; and when I compare this with an Army of *Veterans*, a great number of ſtrong Places, regular and well furniſhed Magazines, with ſeveral Squadrons of Ships, and Men of acknowledg'd Capacity in all Imployments civil and military, that Crown paying regular Subſidies to foreign Princes, which heretofore ſtood in need of them, and advert likewiſe to the preſent State of things in the *Indies*, I grow almoſt confident, that I am not miſtaken, but that *Spain* is in truth in a flouriſhing Condition, and that in half a Century

ſhe will appear one of the greateſt Powers, if not the principal Power in *Europe*.

I proteſt, ſaid the Duke, you have ſaid full as much in defence of your *Spaniards* as the Matter will bear, and I doubt a little more. But I confeſs till this moment I never heard of ſo ſtrange a Syſtem as this, that the Power of *Spain* is increaſed by lopping off ſome of the fineſt Countries, in the beſt part of the World, and which you cannot but know is the everlaſting View of the King and his Miniſter to re-acquire. I do indeed admit, that if they were to manage them as poorly as their Predeceſſors did, which yet it is very poſſible they may do, the uniting them once more to the *Spaniſh* Crown, may not much increaſe its Power, tho' it would certainly heighten its Luſtre. For *Minorca*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Milan*, are certainly worth the having, and might be made to pay for more than their Keeping in proper hands. But be that as it will, the Point between you and I is the preſent Power of *Spain*, which I muſt diſtinguiſh into real and apparent. The latter may be, and I believe hath been, mightily increaſed by governing upon *French* Maxims; but then I preſume to ſay, this hath not been the Caſe of the former. An active Miniſter may ſo ſhuffle, *Horſe*, *Foot*, *Dragoons*, *Ships* of the *Line*, *Galleys*, and *Tranſports*, as to put the Mob of *Europe*, which by the way, takes in great part of its Inhabitants, into Amazement, and make them ſtand as much in awe of him, as the Folks at a Country Fair do of one who pretends to deal with the Devil. But wiſe Men will not be cheated even by a *political Jugler*; they know as well that great things cannot be done by an exhauſted State, as that no Gold can be taken out of an empty Bag. And therefore whatever Tricks, whatever Pretences, theſe Hocus-Pocus Miniſters may make uſe of, they will remain firm, and leave the Mountebank to purſue his Game till

till he makes himſelf ridiculous. Indeed I muſt grant you, that if any of the neighbouring States ſhould be governed by Men of middling Parts, they might be impoſed on, ſo far as to ſuffer an intriguing Miniſter to attain by Fraud what he durſt not have attempted by Force; but then this is a Suppoſition only, and we are at preſent reaſoning upon Facts. You have told me frankly your Thoughts of the Matter, perhaps I think as you do; but for the ſake of Argument, I will endeavour to convince you of your Error, that is, I will undertake to prove, that *Spain* was never ſo weak as at preſent, and that nothing but the Miſtakes of her Neighbours can furniſh her with the Means of raiſing up her Head, and of becoming formidable again.

There is no doubt to be made, that the inland Kingdoms of *Spain* are ſpacious, and might be made rich and powerful; neither can it be affirmed that a Peninſula is ill ſeated for Trade, which on one ſide is waſhed by the *Ocean*, and on the other by the *Mediterranean*. But it is not the Extent or Properties of Countries, which makes their Princes conſiderable; for then the Poſſeſſors of *Aſia Minor*, of the *Campagnia di Roma*, of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, would be the moſt puiſſant Princes of the World. It is the number of People which render Governours formidable, and it is the want of People which hath always made *Spain* feeble. There are not at this day above five Millions in *Spain*, and the Miniſter who knows this, may very eaſily know whether what he is told of the Armies of *Spain*, ought to be depended upon or not. It is eaſy to frame a Liſt of Battalions in a Country, where it may be very difficult to form them; nay, there may be actually ſo many Battalions on foot, as form a Liſt, and yet the Force of the Army far inferiour to what ſuch a Liſt would incline a Man to think it.

I grant you, that the *Spaniſh* Troops are out of compariſon better than they were at the death of *Charles* II. but I muſt tell you, that they were ſuppoſed in the time of Cardinal *Alberoni*, to be much more numerous than they really were. According to his Liſt, they ſhould have amounted to upwards of one hundred thouſand Men: of theſe twenty thouſand were in *Sicily*, and the Remainder were not enough to enable the King to look the Duke of *Berwick* in the face, when he invaded his Dominions with eighteen or nineteen thouſand Men. The *Spaniſh* Fleet was ſaid to conſiſt of ſeventy Men of War of the Line; but the Catholick King would have had a good Bargain, if he had exchanged them all for half the number, or even for twenty-five *Engliſh* Ships. Thus you ſee the difference between Reality and Appearance. *Alberoni* could deal well enough with the Miniſters of *France* and *Britain*; he kept them at bay many Months; but there was no deceiving either *Berwick* or *Bynge* ſo much as for a Day. There is, as you obſerve, a good Army in *Spain* at this time; and it is properly an Army of *Veterans*, ſince it conſiſts of the Remains of thoſe great Armies, which were ſet on foot in the beginning of this Century. But how ſhall this Army be recruited? or of what value will freſh Recruits be in compariſon of the old Soldiers, who drop off daily? A new-raiſed Regiment may handle their Arms prettily; but the General will find himſelf miſtaken, who depends on them any where but at a Review. *Spaniſh* Infantry will be always excellent, but they are not to be had. I do not think that ſix thouſand could be kept up conſtantly, even with the greateſt Care and ſtricteſt Diſcipline. As for mercenary Troops, they are dangerous and uncertain; and therefore, if no Means be found to render *Spain* more populous, its natural Force can never be greater than in former

mer times: And as it is now leſs populous than ever, its natural Strength muſt be ſunk, tho' by miniſterial Skill Appearances may be preſerved. As to what you remarked, with reſpect to *France*, it hath a Semblance of Advantage, and that is all. For we have already ſeen one War between the two Crowns, and very probably may ſee another. A laſting Peace cannot be obtained but on condition that the *Spaniard* acts ſo as to ſerve the Intereſt of *France*; and what good, dear Sir, can reſult from becoming a Province? All theſe Notions may do well enough for Amuſement; but whoever would ſhew, that *Spain* is in a flouriſhing Condition, muſt begin by ſhewing how her Inhabitants increaſe.

In the next place, the Genius, Temper, or Diſpoſition of the People muſt be conſidered. A State is more or leſs powerful, as the People are free, active, and intelligent. This makes the difference between the People in *Switzerland*, and the Subjects of the State of *Venice*; the former awe Kings themſelves; the latter live in Cities, which grow daily too wide for them, and with much difficulty find a way to ſpread themſelves thinly on the face of a Country, which would be over-peopled if in other hands. But, my Friend, can there be a People in the World of a Temper leſs fitted to acquire or to preſerve Grandeur than the *Spaniards*, though they ſo much deſire it? Will hard Words defeat Armies? Or will high Looks ſet them above their Neighbours? Will playing on the Guitar fit the Ground for Corn? Or will talking of News do the Mechanick's Buſineſs? Are the profuſe Gallantry, the ſolemn Indolence, the haughty Ignorance of their Grandees, Qualities fit for Stateſmen? Or can you believe, that the tedious Delays of that Court turn to their advantage in Negotiations with Men of Senſe and Penetration? No, my Friend, *Italian*

Slowneſs is long ago underſtood, and therefore their Pupils the *Spaniards*, ought to leave it off. Honour, Wealth, and Plenty are attainable in all Places, by the ſame means and by no other. Hence in Countries where we ſee the Nobility well educated, the Trades-people active and diligent, and the poorer ſort indefatigably induſtrious, there we never fail to diſcover the Conſequences of theſe things in a full Treaſury, a well diſciplined-Militia, and a competent Number of Ships of War and for Trade. But where the Nobility are over-run with Vices, where the middle ſort of People are lazy, and the meaneſt of the People idle, there let the Country be what it will, the State muſt be poor, its Land-force feeble, and that by Sea contemptible. I will admit, that a Miniſter may by his Addreſs palliate theſe things; nay, he may ſo manage matters, as to diſguiſe the Poverty, Weakneſs, and evil State of his Country's Affairs; but this I am certain, that he can never mend them, but by altering the Temper of the Inhabitants, which he muſt purſue ſteadily, tho' he does it by degrees. If this can be effected, if the Nobility can be brought to reliſh a ſort of Life agreeable to their Titles, and to value themſelves on the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Virtues by which they were acquired: If thoſe immediately below them can be taught to aſpire in an honourable manner, and if the Bulk of the People can be perſuaded, that Induſtry, like Virtue, will be its own Reward, not a new Face, but a new State of things will appear. But where this cannot be done, all political Expedients, tho' like empyrical Medicines, they may do honour for a time to thoſe who deviſe them, yet will they do miſchief at laſt, by perſuading thoſe who are diſeaſed, that they injoy ſound Health, and thereby hindering them from conſidering of proper Remedies, or of applying them when ſuggeſted. Now the peſent

Mode

Mode in *Spain* is ſo far from being favourable to a Reformation, that on the contrary it encourages their old Errors, and will ſuperinduce new ones. It has added Vanity to Pride, and a Spirit of conquering to an Inability of keeping. Judge you then, Sir, whether ſhe is become, or is likely to become more formidable, or rather whether ſhe will not every day be leſs ſo. It is true a Paralytick with his Sword in his hand, may frighten Women and Children, but a Man of Spirit will pity him, and perhaps bear a little with him before he takes his Weapon from him.

There is a third Ingredient, which is no leſs neceſſary to the aggrandizing a People than either of the former, and that is fixed Maxims of Government, and the ſteady Purſuit of a ſolid rational Scheme. Without this, the Politicks of a Nation become a *Penelope's Web*, what is done to-day is undone to-morrow, and the People by a Succeſſion of contradictory Meaſures have their Heads at laſt ſo turned, that they loſe all Senſe of Right and Wrong. The *Spaniſh* Syſtem of Government was formerly far from being abſolute; on the contrary, like the reſt of the *Gothick* Monarchies, if the King had a Title to his Rights, the People had the ſame to theirs. But when ſo many Kingdoms came to be poſſeſſed by *Charles* V. the Variety of their Privileges begat an inextricable Confuſion. His Succeſſion had in view the cutting off of them all; and if this Deſign had been ſteadily purſued by his Deſcendants, perhaps *Spain* had not ſuffered ſo much thereby, as it did by that temporizing Method, which came next in play. Under the following Reigns, *Spain* ſaw limited Monarchs and abſolute Miniſters. The former could do little; and the latter, as often as they failed of doing what they intended, laid the fault always on thoſe Limitations which were felt only by their Maſters. The Acceſſion of the *Houſe of Bourbon*, it was believed,

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would have produced an entire Change in theſe Matters; but we ſee it has been effected only in part, the *Catalonians* and the *Biſcayneers* have loſt their Privileges: but as for a uniform Conſtitution on Principles of Liberty, or of deſpotick Power, it is not, and in all probability it never will be fixed. To this is owing that Confuſion which is apparent in the Direction of publick Affairs, and that languid Execution of Juſtice, which is ſo generally complained of. Old Forms have there the Weight of Laws, and the Breach of a Ceremonial is dangerous, even to a firſt Miniſter. The publick Revenue is in ſuch a perplexed Situation, that to underſtand it, is the Work of a Man's Life, and to regulate it, would be the Work of half an Age. Whereas were this grand Point once ſettled, that all things ſhould be ſo ordered, as might beſt conduce to the Service of the King, or the Good of the People, ſome Succeſs might be hoped for. A Regulation might be begun in ſmall things, and from thence be carried on to greater. This would at leaſt ſet the Government on a right Foot, ſo that the People might be protected in what they have even if they could not be perſuaded to act ſo, as to get more than they have. The Wealth of the *Indies* might then reſt as upon a Banker's Compter, and not ſlip thro' as it does at preſent, almoſt as ſoon as it is told out, the bare preſerving of Wealth would go a good way in making the People rich, and then Power might be the more eaſily procured. But for the modern Method of drawing together a little Money, and then applying it to ſome darling Project, tho' it may gratify ſome great Minds, and ſerve to ſwell a few private Fortunes, yet it muſt neceſſarily exhauſt *Spain*, and keep them for ever poor. This, Sir, is my way of Reaſoning, to which, were it proper, I could add, that the *Indies* are not ſo certain a Source of Riches, as they

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are commonly eſteemed. If *Spain* will not mind her own Concerns in earneſt, it is at leaſt her Intereſt to be on good Terms with her Neighbours, leſt a long Series of wrangling ſhould at laſt make them implacable Enemies, when it would not be difficult for them to deviſe and execute ſuch Schemes as might be fatal to a Monarchy powerful only in ſhew, and which might be both *ſpeedily* and *grievouſly diſtreſſed*, by the cutting off of thoſe *Succours* on which her very *Being* depends. Well, I ſay no more, but methinks I read it in your Countenance, that you are not ſo ſanguine as you were.

This ſort of Converſation ſerved various purpoſes; it amuſed the Duke when he was not diſpos'd to think more ſeriouſly, and it furniſhed him with uſeful Hints, or at leaſt what he thought uſeful Hints when he was. For this reaſon he ſtarted many different Points of Inquiry, and either dropt or purſued them, as he found his Fellow-Paſſenger qualified or not qualified, to ſupport the Diſcourſe; which was the leſs troubleſome to him, becauſe the Gentleman was very explicit, telling him frankly when he was ignorant, as well as what he knew as to ſuch things as had fallen under his Cognizance: Suppoſing without doubt that he had great honour done him in thoſe free Converſations, and little dreaming of the Schemes that were then ſwimming in Duke *Ripperda*'s Head. Among other Queſtions, the Duke one day aſked him what he thought was the reaſon the *Moors* did not give the *Spaniard* as much Diſturbance as they were wont to do, ſince the Correſpondence they might maintain at *Gibraltar* might furniſh them with the faireſt Opportunities. You are in the right, Sir, anſwered the Officer, and I am extremely ſorry for it. A Man, who has any regard to Religion, will always ſee with the utmoſt Concern the Honour of the Chriſtian Name ſacrificed to the Intereſt of any People. When Princes

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of the ſame Faith fall out, though they diſpute after the Mode of Kings, yet ought they never to puſh their Averſion to each other ſo far as to hurt, or to diſhononr their Religion. To the Breach of this Maxim the *Spaniards* owe the Loſs of *Oran*, which had never been taken, if an *Engliſh* Squadron had not been on the Coaſt, and prevented the Supplies which were intended for that Garriſon. And what great Uſe, ſaid the Duke *de Ripperda*, could the Crown of *Spain* make of that Fortreſs? I ought, Sir, ſaid the Gentleman, to aſk that Queſtion of you; but this I know, that it commands one of the fineſt Ports in the World, and to me it appears of no ſmall importance to preſerve ſuch a Place from falling into the hands of the Infidels; who, tho' as you ſay, they do not at preſent miſchief the *Spaniards* as much as they were wont to do, retain however the ſame irreconcileable Hatred to them, of which they would not fail to give them proofs, were it once in their power.

But, ſaid the Duke, you forget to tell me why it is not in their power. Becauſe, anſwered the Gentleman, it is a thing I cannot very eaſily do, I never had any Intercourſe with the *Moors*, and therefore can have no Knowledge of their Councils; but if you would have my Opinion of the Matter, I ſhall give it you very readily, and that, dear Sir, ſaid the Duke, is all I deſire. Why then, continued Don *Tomaſo*, I believe it ariſes on one hand from the Inability of the *Moors* themſelves; and on the other from the Vigilance of the *Spaniards*. At this the Duke *de Ripperda* ſmiled. Well, Sir, ſaid the Gentleman, you may laugh at what you have ſeen in *Spain*, but give me leave to tell you, that when I firſt came thither, it was in a much worſe State than it is now. For the State was infinitely more feeble, and the People were not a grain leſs oppreſſed. Would you believe it, Sir, the

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menial Servants of King *Charles* II. of *Spain*, often deſerted his Perſon, that they might dine at the *French* Ambaſſador's, their own Appointments being ſo miſerably paid, that they ſcarce knew where to get a Dinner; and at this very time the Purveyor of Wax for the Palaces, purchaſed a Title and an Eſtate for three hundred thouſand Crowns in ready Money. But to return to my Subject: The *Moors* in general have been for many Years paſt divided amongſt themſelves, and ſo eagerly imployed in cutting each other's Throats, that, God be praiſed, they have had leſs time to think of doing miſchief to the Chriſtians. Beſides Luxury and Corruption have found their way even into *Africk*, and by this means their Views are turned quite another way; that is in ſhort, they thieve now in Peace, as their Fathers thieved in War. As for the piratical States again, their Affairs too have been in much diſorder, and their having no longer any of the *Moors* amongſt them, who were Natives of *Spain*, they are the leſs able to make Deſcents, and to carry away the Inhabitants of whole Villages, as they were wont to do. On the other ſide the *Spaniſh* Coaſt is by no means in that naked Condition that it was in former times, neither are the People ſo timid. In the beginning of this Century, there were ſcarce five Ships of War on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, and no Troops that deſerved to be call'd regular. The Country People too, were for the moſt part without Arms, whereas now there are never wanting conſiderable Garriſons in important Places, or a reaſonable Body of regular Forces diſperſed over the Coaſt. The People too are generally furniſhed with Arms, of which they make ſo good uſe, that whenever the *Moors* do land, they are twice in thrice defeated, either before they have had time to plunder, or in their Retreat. Mighty well! ſaid the Duke; but what if any Nation in War with *Spain* ſhould furniſh

furniſh the *Moors* with Ships? I ſhall tell your Excellency, returned Don *Tomaſo*, what I think when you ſhall name that Nation; at the ſame time permit me to ſay, that ſuch things ſhould not be ſpoke of even in jeſt. The Duke upon this look'd grave, and the Converſation broke off a little abruptly.

A day or two before they quitted the Ship, the Duke *de Ripperda*, being fuller of Spirits than uſual, attacked Don *Tomaſo* on theſe Topicks; but finding him leſs inclined to diſcourſe than formerly, My Friend, ſaid he, let us not differ about ſuch Points as theſe. Neither you nor I are *Spaniards* by Birth, and if Gratitude for good Uſage attaches you ſo ſtrongly to that Nation, do not wonder if a contrary Behaviour has had on me a contrary Effect. In this, my Friend, I am no Diſſembler, the *Spaniards* have all things to fear from me, that ſhall ever be in *Ripperda*'s power. I was once of your way of thinking, I wiſh'd well to *Spain*, and did for it all I could; I ſaw clearly the Errors of their former Miniſters, and the Folly of endeavouring to be at the head of *Europe*, without any Ability of ſupporting that Humour even for a few Months: I therefore ſought to aggrandize them in a rational way, by ſettling Manufactures, by encreaſing their foreign Trade, by freeing the meaner ſort of People from Oppreſſion, and if the thing had been poſſible, the Great Ones from their Follies. On that Rock I ſplit. The Vices of a Nation were too hard for me; and the Arts of a few Courtiers, join'd to the Madneſs of a Mob, drove me to ſeek protection for my Life in that City, which had ſeen me labour more than all former Miniſters had done, in correcting thoſe Abuſes which were juſtly complained of. After this, they impriſoned me in a Place where I could look on the Manufactory I had ſettled, and which already

ready ſaves the *Spaniſh* Nation Millions. All this, as themſelves confeſs, for Peccadillos, for loſing my Patience in a Country, where no Man of Senſe could keep it, and for endeavouring to give a People the Subſtance, who have been for Ages catching at the Shadow. Thus they have rewarded me, and ſhall I not reward them? ——— Sir, ſaid Don *Tomaſo*, I do not pretend to judge between you and the *Spaniſh* Nation; had I ſuch an Authority, perhaps I ſhould treat you in ſuch a manner as ſhould diſarm your Reſentment. As it is, permit me to give you a Word of Advice. The World already admires the Abilities and Dexterity of the Duke *de Ripperda*, let them do more, let them admire his Generoſity. You know how much the *Spaniſh* Nation pique themſelves on being Men of Honour; you have ſhewn them their Follies in other reſpects, ſhew it them in this, be in reality what they aim at, remember the Kindneſs of his Catholick Majeſty, forget that Treachery which is common to Courts, and that Giddineſs which is inſeparable from the Populace in all Countries.——Dear Sir, ſaid the Duke, you are a perfect Enthuſiaſt, but you will never make me ſo. I am ſorry for it, reply'd the Officer, your Excellency may live to repent it.

All the Duke's Hopes were now center'd in *London*, where he flatter'd himſelf, that all his Projects would be welcome, not only on account of the vaſt Advantages, which he believed it was in his power to procure to the *Britiſh* Nation, but alſo with reſpect to the Vengeance it was his Deſire to take of the *Spaniards*. To this the Duke was led by the Language of ſome *Engliſhmen* and Sailors, whom he had diſcourſed on this Subject, and who by the outrageous things they ſaid of the Catholick King and of his Subjects, betrayed a Hatred little inferiour to that of his own. From this Cauſe he kept no Meaſures in the Memorials he prepared for

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the Inſpection of the Stateſmen in that Country. On the contrary, he believed, that his warm Expreſſions, and his ſanguine Propoſals, would at once demonſtrate his Sincerity, and recommend him to thoſe with whom he had to deal; and his Notions on this head were not a little furthered by that general Reſentment, which appeared in the *Britiſh* Nation, on the actual Undertaking of the Siege of *Gibraltar*. Of this it may not be amiſs to give a ſuccinct Account here, in as much as we have made it our Buſineſs to carry on all along the Hiſtory of the Differences between the Courts of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, than which nothing could be more material with reſpect to the Memoirs of the Duke *de Ripperda*; ſince, in the firſt place, theſe Diſputes took riſe from the Informations given by him, and in the next *Gibraltar* was properly ſupply'd in conſequence of thoſe Notices.

The firſt Ground of the *Spaniſh* Pretenſions to the Reſtoration of *Gibraltar*, was an Inſinuation of that ſort from the Regent, when he projected the Deſtruction of the Cardinal *Alberoni* and his Schemes; in conſequence of which, ſomewhat was drawn from King *Goorge* I. from which he ſaw afterwards cauſe to recede, as notwithſtanding any Promiſe he had made he might juſtly do; yet this the *Spaniards* would not underſtand, but inſiſted as peremptorily on a conditional Promiſe, as if it had been an abſolute one. We have ſeen in what Terms their Miniſtry ſtated this Point, and we have ſeen what was anſwered to them, which it ſeems was ſo far from being ſatisfactory, that immediately after the laſt Letter inſerted in theſe Memoirs from the Marquis *de la Paz* to M. *Stanhope*, the *Condé de los Torres* was ordered to approach the Place with fifteen thouſand Men. He continued ſome time in his Camp near *St. Roch*, without attempting any thing, that is, directly againſt the Fortreſs of *Gibraltar*; but

but on the 11th of *February*, O. S. he opened the Trenches, whereupon the Beſieged began to fire upon his Works. The Gariſon conſiſted at that time of about ſix thouſand Men. The Governour was the Earl of *Portmore*, and the Deputy-Governour Colonel *Clayton*; the Place was well provided with Ammunition and Proviſions. Both ſides for a time acted ſlowly, and as if they ſeemed not mighty well pleaſed with the Work they had in hand; but by degrees they grew warmer, and began to act againſt each other in earneſt.

The *Condé de los Torres* was an Officer of great Prudence and Experience, he was thoroughly ſenſible of the Difficulty of the Enterprize, which his Court, rather than himſelf, had undertaken, and therefore he proceeded in it with all imaginable Caution. The Troops he had under his Command were the very beſt in the Service of *Spain*; and one may, without a Compliment, ſay, they were the very beſt in *Europe*, as appeared from the Firmneſs and Conſtancy with which they went through the incredible Labours of this Siege; not only without proper Supplies and Encouragement, but even without Hopes. On the other hand, the Place was in very good Condition, the Troops freſh and vigorous, commanded by Officers who had great Experience in the Art of War, and who did their Duty with a Tranquillity, which inſpired the Soldiers with Contempt for all the Efforts of the Enemy. Sir *Charles Wager* with a ſtrong Squadron lay in the Bay, and gave them all the Aſſiſtance they could expect or deſire; ſo that during the whole Siege they were in high Spirits, and knowing no want of military Proviſions, they beſtowed them very plentifully, and by reaſon of their advantageous Situation, with all the Succeſs they expected.

At the beginning of the Siege, the *Condé de los Torres* prohibited by Proclamation in his Camp, upon

pain of Death, the tranſmitting of any News to *Madrid*. This, tho' a neceſſary Precaution, was a very unlucky Omen, ſince it ſeemed to portend their not having any good News to write. Indeed for two Months the *Spaniards* did little more than fatigue themſelves with working and firing to no purpoſe, at the ſame time that they ſuffered exceſſively from the Artillery of the Place. This was not the Effect either of Ignorance or of Negligence in the Engineers, who are allowed to have done their Duty perfectly well, but ſprung entirely from their unlucky Situation and Difficulty of breaking Ground. By the latter end of *April* however theſe Obſtacles were removed, and on the 26th of that Month their new Batteries began to fire, with terrible Execution on the Place. There were four of them, and they were well furniſhed with battering Cannon and Mortars. The deſire they had to make the ſhorteſt end of this Buſineſs they could, engaged them to continue this fire without Intermiſſion for many days. By the latter end of *May*, notwithſtanding all the pains of the Beſieged, things were in ſuch a Situation, that the *Condé de los Torres* determined to hazard a general Aſſault on the 29th. But on the 28th, a Cannon-ſhot from the Town, fell into one of their Magazines, which blew up, as did ſoon after another; the great Piles of Faſcines near the Batteries alſo took fire, which, though it render'd the Aſſault impracticable, and muſt certainly diſpirit the Soldiers exceedingly, yet they kept their Poſts, and preſerved their Artillery the beſt they could, notwithſtanding theſe unlucky Accidents, and their being expoſed all the time to the fire of the Place. Their Ardour however abated from this time, and tho' they continued firing to the 12th of *June*, yet there were frequent Intermiſſions, and the Ceſſation of Hoſtilities, which then took place, was very acceptable, ſeveral hundreds of brave Men being buried in this unfortunate Siege to very little or rather

ther to no purpoſe, the place having been rendered much ſtronger than it was before; as if the End of this Siege had been to prevent the fruitleſs Undertaking of another.

The Conduct of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry on the Siege of *Gibraltar* was ſuch, as if duly conſidered would have prevented the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Applications; for ſo far were they from puſhing things to Extremity, as under colour of that Siege they might have eaſily done, that they liſtened willingly to Propoſals of Accommodation, and even declined accepting of *French* Succours, tho' a Diverſion on the ſide of *Rouſſillon* would immediately have raiſed the Siege of *Gibraltar*. In *America* again the *Engliſh* Fleet committed no Hoſtilities, nor did they attempt to make themſelves Maſters of the Silver when once it was carried on ſhore. The reaſon, in all probability, was, that all *Europe* might be apprized of their Moderation, and of the Obſtinacy of the *Spaniards*, who, notwithſtanding it was ſo viſibly their own Intereſt, could not be brought to reliſh a ſtable and honourable Peace. The Iſſue was what they expected: when the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry ſaw that all their Hopes were defeated, and all their Expectations vain, they were contented to have recourſe once more to Negotiation, and in conſequence thereof, Articles of Pacification were ſigned at the ſame time that the Congreſs of *Soiſſons* was ſet on foot, under the Direction of the pacifick Cardinal *de Fleury*.

For ſome time after the Duke *de Ripperda* arrived at *London*, he lived privately, and did not appear much in publick Places. This was in part owing to ſome Precautions he thought neceſſary, and proceeded in part from his Indiſpoſition, the Gout having attacked him ſoon after his Arrival, with more violence than ever. But in proceſs of time, when his Fears were removed, and his Health re-eſtabliſhed, he reſolved to live in a manner be-

coming a Perſon of his Quality, for which he by no means wanted a competent Fortune, having very conſiderable Funds in the Banks of *London*, *Venice* and *Amſterdam*. With this view he took a fine Houſe in *Soho-Square*, which he furniſh'd very handſomely, and then ſet up a genteel Equipage, he had likewiſe a Country-houſe, and in private Life diſcharged every thing, not only with Honour and Punctuality, but alſo with uncommon Generoſity; and either out of Affectation, or as it is to be hoped, from a better Principle, diſburſt conſiderable Sums in Charity to Perſons of all Perſuaſions. By this means he was extremely admired and beloved by ſuch as had to do with him, merely as a Man of Quality. As to what a late Writer has been pleaſed to ſay concerning the Inſults that were offered him by the Writers of publick Papers, and by Libels diſperſed in the Street and in the Park, they are partly miſrepreſented, and partly falſe. What was ſaid in the *Craftſman* of the Duke *de Ripperda*, tho' it was indeed groſs enough, did not however in the Opinion of Perſons of Penetration, aim ſo directly at him as at another Miniſter; and beſides, the Paſſage mentioned by the Author I point at, was inſerted after the Duke had left *England*, and conſequently could not be intended to prejudice him here. It is indeed the Misfortune of many of the Knights of the *Pen* in *Holland*, that they will deſcribe things they have never ſeen, and explain with wonderful Prolixity what they do not underſtand. The Buſineſs of the *Craftſman* is plainly to ſcrutinize our own Affairs, and in doing this the Author applies hiſtorical Facts, ancient and modern, in ſuch a manner as beſt ſuits his purpoſe. Every intelligent Reader underſtands this, and of conſequence does not pretend to interpret literally what that Writer ſays of Miniſters of State and Favourites. For example, every body knows how *Prince Menzikoff* was treated in that Paper; ſo treated,

that

that unleſs we admit the Method of interpreting I have recommended, it might be ſafely ſaid, that his Perſon fared better in *Siberia*, than his Character here. The *Engliſh* are a changeable People in their Taſte of publick Writings. Sometimes one Manner pleaſes them, ſometimes another. One while they like Writers ſublime and ſerious, preſently after they encourage the humorous and even the groteſque; at preſent they are fond of characteriſtick Writing and hiſtorical Allegory; but it is dangerous for Foreigners to pretend to underſtand them, who ſeldom or never underſtand themſelves. This Quickneſs of Diſpoſition, this Mutability in Taſte, is not, as ſome have imagined, the Effects of their Climate, but of their Liberty. The ſame Diſpoſition is diſcoverable in all Mankind, by the help of a little Care and Diſcernment; but among a free People, every Man following the Bent of his Inclination, there is not either Care or Diſcernment neceſſary to find it amongſt them. However, I think it may be ſafely aver'd, that our *Engliſh* Satiriſts have preſerved as much reſpect for Crown'd Heads as their Neighbours; and therefore to paint us a Nation of Libellers, is a Libel with a Vengeance. But to proceed:

The Duke *de Ripperda* undoubtedly intended nothing leſs than to ſit down quietly in *England*, and injoy the great Fortune which he had ſaved out of his Shipwreck. He was moſt certainly intent on political Projects, which were by no means chimerical or impracticable, as many have pretended, but of a nature very little agreeable to the *Britiſh* Councils, as breathing a Spirit of Bloodſhed and Deſtruction, which are never reliſhed here even in a time of open War. His Excellency in theſe Memoirs explained perfectly well the Politicks of the Court of *Madrid*, he ſhewed their Weakneſs and the ſmall Proportion there was between the Ends which were to be anſwered, and the Means which

were to be made uſe of in order to anſwer them
whence he infer'd, that the *Spaniſh* Miniſters migh
go on to embroil *Europe* for many Years, but tha
they muſt all the while exhauſt the People, and ren
der the Kingdom ſtill weaker and weaker. He
likewiſe ſhewed the Advantages that might be ta
ken here and in the *Weſt-Indies*, not ſuch Advan
tages however as might contribute to a laſting Peace
and the Eſtabliſhment of an extenſive Trade with
the *Spaniſh* Nation, but ſuch as would have reduced
them to ſo low a State, as not to be worth trading
with at all. In one word, the Duke *de Ripperda*
in all his Projects, conſidered the *Spaniards* as hi
Enemies, and in no other light; tho' it muſt be
confeſſed, that in this light, no Man ever ſaw more
clearly and perfectly what might prejudice him
He was a ſecond *Count Julian*, whoſe Ambition
and whoſe Malice knew no bounds.

The Reader will ſee an Inſtance of this in the Ap
pendix, we have therein placed ſome Papers which
ſhew how much *Spain* may be benefited by a fai
Coreſpondence with *Gr. Brit.* and how much ſhe may
be injured by a long and vigorous War. Theſe Pa
pers have been retouched, to render them more uſe
ful and Inſtructive, as well as more curious and en
tertaining; ſo that now they exhibit within a nar
row Compaſs our Strength, the Weakneſs of *Spain*
the Advantages we may take from the preſent War
and the Danger of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, if it conti
nues either an open or ſecret Enemy to us as a Na
tion, a thing threatned on the one hand, and by ſome
apprehended on the other.

If theſe Memorials were not complied with, i
was not becauſe they came from the Duke *de Rip*
perda, or from any Jealouſy of his extraordinary
Abilities, but it was ſimply becauſe they did no
coincide with the Sentiments of the *Britiſh* Mini
ſtry, or with that Syſtem, which his *Britannic*
Majeſty and his Allies were endeavouring to eſta
bliſh

bliſh. The Anſwers that were given him however ran in the ſmootheſt Terms, he was treated very reſpectfully in all the Audiences he had on the Subject of his Propoſals, and except the Diſpleaſure he might conceive at ſeeing all his fine Schemes rejected, he had no reaſon in the world to be diſſatisfied with the *Britiſh* Court, or with the *Britiſh* Nation. It muſt likewiſe be obſerved, that the Duke never manifeſted any extraordinary Diſcontent, but on the contrary ſeemed to acquieſce under the Reaſons which were ſuggeſted for not making uſe of his Schemes, only he always intimated that the Ground-Plot of theſe Reaſons was chimerical; for, ſaid he, the *Engliſh* act upon this Suppoſition, that *Spaniards* will be always true to their own Intereſt, whereas they will only find them true to their Humour. Always affecting Dominion, always deſirous of giving *Europe* Laws, though they have neither Strength enough to acquire the former, nor Capacity enough to manage the latter. For, ſaid he, it is manifeſt, that *French* Councils fixed King *Philip* upon the Throne, on which *Spaniſh* have often ſince made him totter. But when he had ſaid this, he would frankly acknowledge, that the Deſire of maintaining the Tranquillity of *Europe* was a noble Principle, though it ſeemed to him very doubtful whether it was feazible. He inſinuated, that extended Dominions were dangerous to their Neighbours, and deſtructive to the Inhabitants of thoſe Dominions; wherefore he held it the Intereſt of all free States to promote a more equal Diſtribution of Power, by reviving old Republicks, or aſſiſting the Formation of new ones. But theſe political Viſions did not ſuit every Taſte. Thoſe that did not underſtand them, took them for Dreams, and thoſe that did were not unwilling that they ſhould be conſidered in that light; ſo that by degrees the Duke came to be conſider'd as a *State-Alchymiſt*, whoſe Abilities were to be admired, but whoſe

Schemes were too expenſive, too incertain, and too dangerous to be meddled with.

Beſides the Reaſons that were given to the Duke for the laying aſide his Projects, there were many of a prudential Nature, which might be gueſſed at, tho' they were not divulged. It might not perhaps be thought either juſtifiable or ſafe to intrigue with the Subjects of *Spain*, either in *Europe* or in *America*, ſince ſuch a Proceeding would not only have increaſed the Malevolence of the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry, but alſo have given great Scandal and juſt Grounds of Suſpicion to all the other Courts of *Europe*. The cutting off from *Spain* her great Supplies of Wealth, or turning them into any new Channel, might not have proved more deſtructive to the *Spaniards* than hurtful to the *Engliſh*. As things then ſtood, there was a great annual Balance of Trade in favour of the latter, and to change this Certainty for an Uncertainty, and that too at a great national Expence, was not only a wrong Meaſure, but might have been fatal to thoſe who ventur'd upon it, ſince nothing but Succeſs could have render'd it fair even in Appearance. Add to all this, that it might be ſuſpected that the *Spaniards* were neither ignorant of the Duke's Deſigns, nor unattentive to them. That the hopes of profiting by the *Spaniſh* Trade might have drawn the moſt conſiderable of the *European* Potentates to ſide with that Crown, and that notwithſtanding the Probability of the Duke of *Ripperda*'s Suggeſtions concerning the Weakneſs of the *Spaniſh* Power, and the great Errors in its Government, yet all might not prove exactly as he ſaid.

As our Situation with reſpect to *Spain* was continually varying, and as the common Voice of the People from time to time ſuggeſted a War, the Duke *de Ripperda*, who was not yet acquainted with the *Engliſh* Genius, remained in the ſame fluctuating Condition, hoping from time to time, that the O-

pinion of the Miniſtry would change, and that the time would come, when the Excellency of his Schemes would be diſcerned, and himſelf employ'd in their Execution. The latter, without queſtion, muſt have been the Conſequence of the former; for there could perhaps ſcarce have been found in *Europe* a Man capable of entering into, or going all the lengths of ſuch ſanguine Projects as he had formed: and, as in ſpight of his increaſing Years and Infirmities, he wanted not either Spirit or Activity enough to carry them into Act; they have made a wrong Judgement of things, who believe that there was any Party in *England*, that made it a Rule with them to treat this ambitious Stateſman while he was here with Contempt: for this is ſo far from being true, that, without all queſtion, he confer'd with, and was careſs'd by Men of the greateſt Diſtinction, of all Parties, either out of Curioſity, or out of Complaiſance. On the other hand, the Duke knew how to conduct his general Diſcourſes in ſuch a manner, as to render them extremely pleaſant and agreeable to all, who had any knowledge of the Affairs of *Europe*. For with a great Fund of Knowledge, and all the Politeneſs that could be expected in a Man, who had filled ſuch high Dignities, he had a natural Eloquence, and ſo familiar a way of ſpeaking, that it was impoſſible to hear him without Attention, or even to avoid feeling a very ſenſible Pleaſure while he was ſpeaking. But then this ſerved only to increaſe the number of his perſonal Friends, and did not at all increaſe that Intereſt which he ſought to cultivate; ſo that however it might gratify his Vanity, however it might flatter his Hopes, it certainly did not anſwer his Ends, or enable him to effect in any degree what he ſo paſſionately deſired; and therefore after he had been here about three Years, in which time he grew into a great Acquaintance with the Humours and Intereſt of the *Engliſh*, he became thoroughly

thoroughly undeceived, and ſaw the Neceſſity of turning his Thoughts to ſome other Quarter.

In the Years the Duke ſpent in *England*, he was more than ever haraſs'd with the Gout, inſomuch, that at leaſt twice a Year he kept his Bed, and lay almoſt without Motion for ſix Weeks or two Months. In ſuch a diſtreſt Condition one would be apt to think, that a Man of our Stateſman's Temper would be extremely uneaſy, and exceſſively peeviſh, but it was quite otherwiſe. The fair *Caſtilian* was never abſent from him a moment, ſhe preſented him whatever he had occaſion for with her own hand, ſhe moved his Limbs when he was uuable to move them himſelf; in a word, her Tenderneſs was ſo great, and her Addreſs ſo obliging, that it even baniſhed the Senſation of Pain, and enabled the Duke in thoſe dreadful Paroxiſms, to preſerve not only an unuſual Steadineſs and Compoſure of Mind, but even a Chearfulneſs, and a Faculty of converſing incredible to all but thoſe who have ſeen it. I do not write this upon common Hearſay, but from the Teſtimony of Eye witneſſes. The Duke *de Ripperda*, like other great Men, had his Enemies, who would not allow him any good Qualities, but ſuch as have converſed with him here know that they are in the wrong, and that in private Converſation, in the ordinary Acts and Occurrences of Life, he was a very amiable Perſon, and either poſſeſſed or put on all thoſe Virtues which recommend a Perſon of Diſtinction and good Senſe to the Eſteem of Mankind.

In the Management of his private Fortune, the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Policy appeared very conſpicuouſly; for though many Computations might have been framed on his manner of Living on his Remittances, and on the Funds which ſome of his Correſpondents knew he had in ſeveral Countries, yet as to the full Amount of his Wealth, or the exact Circumſtances of its Diſtribution, it remained

a Secret to all but himſelf. However, in his Tranſactions he was very open and candid, and preſerved effectually the Love and Affection of all he dealt with. He was well verſed in Trade, and there is reaſon to believe, made uſe of his Knowledge to good purpoſe. He alſo underſtood the Art of negotiating in *Stocks*, and many who knew him well are of opinion, that for a conſiderable time before he left *London*, he framed Schemes, and purſued certain Projects meerly to conceal the pains he took to acquaint himſelf early with that ſort of Intelligence which governs the Tides in a certain Channel, where a quick Wit enables a Man to acquire a great Fortune, in much leſs time than the moſt laborious Induſtry will furniſh him therewith in any other Quarter. On ſuch occaſions he came frequently into the City, where he took every Opportunity that offered of converſing with the moſt eminent and the moſt intelligent of our Merchants, from whom he received great Lights in reſpect to that Project, which he afterwards executed. Theſe Conferences ſerved likewiſe to give him a very high Idea of the extenſive Commerce and naval Power of *Great Britain*, which he acknowledg'd to be much greater than he had conceived it to have been before his coming hither; and as a Mark of his Sincerity in this reſpect, when he afterwards found it neceſſary to purchaſe a Ship to attend his Orders in what part of the World ſoever his Affairs called him, he made choice of an *Engliſh* Veſſel, which, after his Departure from hence, was bought for him by his Correſpondent, and anſwered his purpoſe perfectly well, though it is doubtful, whether the Perſons who navigated the Veſſel were ever let into the Secret to whom ſhe belonged.

When the Duke had once determined with himſelf to quit *England*, he ſuffered his Thoughts to be guided entirely by his ſtrong Paſſion of revenging himſelf on the *Spaniards*. He ſaw clearly, that

that for the ſame Reaſons his Schemes were rejected in *Great Britain*, they would be rejected in any other *European* Kingdom, where he could offer them, and this rather than any other thing put him upon conſidering what might be done in *Morocco*. He had had various Opportunities of gaining a perfect Knowledge of that Country, its Inhabitants and Princes. He had reflected on theſe ſeriouſly, and had framed in his mind a great Variety of Expedients for extirpating that Barbariſm, which is natural to them, and for infuſing ſuch a Paſſion for Empire, as might render them fit for his purpoſe. He had formerly converſed with Admiral *Perez*, ſo well known in *England* and *Holland*, who had given him the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that *Barbary* was a fine pleaſant Country, where a Man might enjoy not only all the Conveniences, but all the Pleaſures of Life in the higheſt Perfection, and where it was no difficult matter to attain the Favour of a Prince as abſolute as powerful, and who never failed to reward, in the moſt extraordinary manner, ſuch as enabled him, by their Counſels, to govern eaſily a moody, mutable People, prone by turns to Slavery and Rebellion, and who made the beſt Subjects to their worſt Princes. Such Abilities the Duke flattered himſelf were in his own poſſeſſion; and he looked upon it as a thing certain, that whenſoever he ſhould addreſs himſelf to the Emperor of *Morocco* and *Fez*, he ſhould be able to give him ſuch new Lights in Government, as would effectually eſtabliſh his own Intereſt, and raiſe him once more to a Capacity of making good what he had once ſaid in *Holland*; *That the loſs of his Dignities in* Spain, *had neither abated his Courage, nor determined his Fortunes, but that he was confident he ſhould one day ſhine with greater Luſtre than ever, and be more conſidered than when he was at the head of his* Catholick Majeſty's *Councils*.

This

This Deſign once thoroughly digeſted in his own Thoughts, the Duke next broke it by degrees to the fair *Caſtilian*, whoſe Surprize thereat can hardly be expreſſed. It would be tedious to trouble the Reader with an Account of their Converſations on this Subject, which his Imagination poſſibly may ſupply better than mine; let it then ſuffice to ſay, that ſeeing the Duke fixed, ſhe laid aſide all her Averſion, and aſſured him, that not only to *Africa*, but alſo to the moſt diſtant and the moſt diſmal Climates of the World, ſhe was ready to follow him and ſhare his Fortunes. His faithful Valet followed from another Motive. My Lord, ſaid he, will be firſt Miniſter as ſoon as theſe *Barbarians* ſet ſight on him, and then for me I ſhall be a *Baſhaw* at leaſt, perhaps a General or a Governour, or a Secretary of State, if I can but learn to write *Arabick*. The Duke, when he was told of theſe Diſcourſes, inſtead of laughing, put on a more ſerious Air than uſual. The Man, ſaid he, has reaſon in what he ſays, and many more unlikely things have come to paſs. The *Frenchman* at this was ready to caper, and inſtead of dreading the Day of his Departure, he longed for nothing more than to ſee himſelf fairly in *Africk*. Before his Departure, the Duke *de Ripperda* procured Recommendations from the Merchants in *London*, to their Correſpondents in *Barbary*, by which means his Deſign came in ſome meaſure to take air, not only in *England*, but in *Holland*, whither ſome time in the Year 1731, the Duke found it neceſſary to go, in order to regulate his Money Affairs; which once performed, he had nothing more to think of but his Voyage.

In *Holland*, he thought it neceſſary to preſerve Appearances more exactly than in *England*, and therefore as ſoon as they landed at *Helvoetſluys*, the Duke *de Ripperda* ſent his Miſtreſs privately to

to *Amſterdam*, while he went himſelf *incognito* to the *Hague*. The Deſign of this Journey was to confer once again with Admiral *Perez*, and to receive from him Letters recommendatory to his Maſter the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*. It is not to be expreſſed how much that old Courtier *Perez* was amazed and pleaſed at the ſight of the Duke *de Ripperda*, and at the News he told him. He conceived immediately, that the Recommendation of the Duke would be, of all others, the ſtrongeſt Recommendation of himſelf, as carrying in it an inconteſtible Proof of the Induſtry, Fidelity, and Dexterity with which he had conducted his Negotiations. We need not wonder therefore that he ſaid and did all that lay in his power to confirm the Duke in his Intention, and to overcome all the Scruples, which out of Affectation, rather than any real Spirit of doubting, that artful Stateſman pretended to raiſe. Theſe Conferences were held with all the Secrecy poſſible, and it is extremely doubtful, whether any thing that paſt in them did at this time tranſpire; but there is reaſon to believe, that the Sum of what *Perez* now and heretofore repreſented to the Duke, in order to determine him to this ſtrange Step, is contained in the following Diſcourſe; the Subſtance of which was taken from the Duke *de Ripperda*'s own Mouth, by a Perſon whom he honoured with his Friendſhip at *Mequinez*, and to whom he ſpoke more than once upon the Subject.

Prejudice, wherever it appears, is alike blameable; if the Inhabitants of *Morocco* and *Fez* are with any Juſtice ſtiled Barbarous, on account of the ſtrange Notions they entertain of *Europeans*, it ſeems to follow from the ſame Maxim, that ſo far as the *Europeans* treat the Inhabitants of thoſe *African* Kingdoms with unjuſt Contempt, they too are *Barbarians* in their way: and to ſpeak my own Sentiments freely, I think the People on both ſides have

have ſuffered alike from theſe Prejudices, theſe wilful and witleſs Departures from true Knowledge and Right Reaſon. For, if on the one hand, the People who inhabit *Barbary* are in a great meaſure unacquainted with the Sciences, which have rendered *Europe* flouriſhing and happy, the *Europeans* are no leſs ignorant of the great Advantages which might redound to them from a thorough Knowledge of that Country, and a more intimate Acquaintance with thoſe who inhabit it. For this, my Lord, you may depend on, that neither the Country nor the People are unworthy of their Creator, but are both capable, by a proper Cultivation, of rendering him in their Effects the ſame Glory and Honour, which he derives from thoſe other Lands and People, more known to thoſe who think themſelves moſt wiſe.

It is needleſs to tell you how thoſe Kingdoms are ſituated, or to ſpeak of their Provinces and their Extent. The Ports of *Salle* and *Tetuan* on the *Mediterranean*, and thoſe of *Arzilla*, *Alcaſſar*, *Azamor*, *Saffia* and *Santa Crux*, on the Ocean, offer its Inhabitants all the Benefits of a moſt extenſive Trade, as the rich Commodities they have of their own, and the much greater Stock they might have, ſeem more than worthy the Attention of Strangers. For inſtance, *Gold*, *Copper*, *Steel*, *Indigo*, *Wool*, *Morocco*, *Skins*, *Wax*, *Coral* and *Horſes*; beſides a multitude of other things, which are brought thither from all parts of *Africk*. I ſay nothing of the Beauty and Fertility of the Country, the ſumptuous Palaces that are to be ſeen in their Cities, and thoſe magnificent Gardens of Pleaſure, which excel any thing I have ſeen in *Europe*. Ought a Country like this to be deſpiſed? Can any reaſonable Man pretend to ſay that a Perſon is puniſhed with Baniſhment, who is ſent thither from *Italy* or *Greece?* If the ſouthern Parts of *France*; if ſome Spots

Spots in *Spain* are accounted ſo many Paradiſes; ſure ſome better Epithets, than are uſually beſtow'd upon them, ought to be deviſed for the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*.

But the Inhabitants, it is ſaid, want Genius, Learning and Politeneſs. Where is the happy Country in which People derive all theſe from Nature? I know very well, that Genius is in *Europe* underſtood to be a Gift from above; but, for my own part, I look upon it to be the Effects of that part of Education which is little attended to, and yet even this Education is wanting to moſt of the Inhabitants of *Barbary*. As for Learning, it is to be met with in great Cities, ſuch as *Fez*, *Morocco*, and *Mequinez*. You will ſay, that the Dreams of the *Arabians* ought not to be called Learning. If it be ſo, to what end have ſo many of your learned Men and grave Profeſſors waked ſo many Nights to interpret theſe Dreams? As to the mathematical Sciences, without all queſtion, the *Arabians* are now as deficient in them as formerly were the *Europeans*; but as for Rhetorick, Hiſtory, Poetry, and all other Erudition of that ſort, thoſe who are intimately acquainted with them, would not deſpiſe the Knowledge of a learned *Moor*. Politeneſs is not the ſame thing every where. What is in one Country barbarous, appears civil enough in another; and methinks, before the *Europeans* brand us with ſo harſh a Name, they ought to conſider how well, the Difference of Cuſtoms being remembered, this Epithet would fit the Manners of their Fathers; and of conſequence whether the Cuſtoms of a few Men in a certain Place, ought to be made the Standard of Politeneſs to all Men, in all Ages, and in all Places.

The People throughout *Morocco* and *Fez*, are by no means ſtupid, or ſo much as ſlow in Underſtanding. They are generally ſpeaking brave, patient,

tient, and where they are well treated, faithful. That there is a want of a proper Policy, and from the want thereof, a multitude of ill Conſequences flow. I am as ſenſible as can be, but ſure this Evil might be rectify'd, and as theſe People have the Form and Figure of Men, nay, as they have the Souls and Capacities of Men, they might be reduced to Order, civilized by Learning, and made in all reſpects, both a happy, and a potent People. I make no doubt, but they will be ſo, if your Excellency continues in this Reſolution, and if his Sublime Highneſs my Maſter admits your Excellency to that Confidence, which your great Abilities merit, and which, I make no doubt, will appear with the ſame extraordinary Luſtre in his Eyes as in mine.

It is true, that to ſpeak freely, the Emperor is not ſo abſolute a Prince as he is generally underſtood to be. There are in his Dominions many Cities, ſo rich and populous, that they maintain themſelves in a kind of Independence; there are likewiſe ſcatter'd up and down many little Principalities, which are hereditary, and which though they are held from the Emperor, pay no other Acknowledgement than a ſmall Tribute, and ſome honorary Acts of Homage. There are beſides numbers of People, who live in a manner without Government at all; who call all Obedience Slavery, and out of their great Zeal for Liberty, cut one another's Throats daily, becauſe they may do it with Impunity. Here then, my Friend, is a proper Scene for ſuch an heroick Genius as yours to diſplay it ſelf. Go! teach the moſt noble of Monarchs, whoſe Veins boil with the Blood of the moſt illuſtrious Anceſtors, to rule by ſolid and equitable Maxims, to exert properly that mighty Power to which he was born, and to compel thoſe wandering Herds of diſtracted Libertines to make themſelves

ſelves happy, by ſubmitting to his Sway. Go Sir, like a Legiſlator into *Africk*, govern her Princes and reform her Sons; teach them to know the Value of what they poſſeſs, and of themſelves, and then direct them to the favourite Point of their Wiſhes and your own, the renewing their ancient Claim to the *Spains*, which, under your Auſpice, may they again ſubject! Need we wonder, that theſe flattering Diſcourſes, which ſuited ſo exactly with the peculiar Madneſs of our Stateſman, ſhould incline him to overlook all the numerous Difficulties, all that Train of Scandal and Reflection, which a Conduct like this would naturally load him with? Need we, I ſay, wonder at this who ſee the ſame thing every day, and if we pleaſed to imploy our Thoughts thereon, might every one of us be able to reckon up a multitude of *Ripperdas* in private Life?

When all things were ſettled, and the Duke had received his neceſſary Letters and Inſtructions, he ſet out immediately for *Amſterdam*, where, at a certain Inn, he found the fair *Caſtilian*, waiting impatiently for his coming. His ſtay here was but for a few days, and even that ſhort ſpace was much againſt his Will, both becauſe he earneſtly wiſhed to be in *Barbary*, and on account of the Fear he was under of being diſcovered, and thereby expoſed to the Viſits of his Friends, which appeared to him in the light of the moſt impertinent Interruptions, a light they never fail to appear in, when a Man is engaged in illicit Deſigns. His Apprehenſions were however not ill founded; for a Relation of his having heard, that there was a certain Perſon of Diſtinction *incognito* at an Inn, whoſe Servant never went abroad, and who himſelf declined ſeeing any Company, this *Dutch* Gentleman immediately began to ſuſpect that it muſt be the Duke *de Ripperda*, of whom no News had been heard ſince his

his Departure from the *Hague*. In order to diſcover whether his Conjecture was well or ill founded, he went to the Inn about Dinner-time, and thereby gained an Opportunity of ſeeing the Duke as he paſſed from one Room to another; and tho' he had taken a great deal of care to diſguiſe himſelf, yet he eaſily knew him, and an hour after ſent him a Billet, by the feigned Name he was known by in the Inn, informing him, that he would wait on him in the Evening; and as it would be to no purpoſe, ſo he expected he would not be denied. To this the Duke returned a verbal Anſwer, that he ſhould be glad of the Gentleman's Company as ſoon as he pleaſed. Upon this Meſſage, the Gentleman came immediately to the Inn, and the Duke making a Virtue of Neceſſity, embraced him, and affected the utmoſt Joy at the ſight of him; though we preſume, he would have been well pleaſed to have eſcaped this Viſit, eſpecially conſidering that his Relation was a very intelligent Perſon, and a very free Speaker; one whoſe Character was without blemiſh and who could not with any patience ſee a Man of Quality, and of great Abilities, acting a Part no way ſuited to either.

The firſt Ceremonies over, the Duke knowing the Gentleman's Temper, carried him into a little Cloſet which was in his Bed-chamber, and enter'd there with him into a kind of Diſcourſe, which, though it contained nothing material, yet ſeemed to be as open and ingenuous as could be deſired. But his Friend was not thus to be amuſed, he told him plainly, that all the World cenſured his Conduct loudly, and therefore it became him, if what they ſaid was true, to reform, or to refute all they alledged, if it was falſe. The Duke admitted this, but ſaid, it was impoſſible to return particular Anſwers to a general Charge, and that he had conſtantly obſerved, that ſuch a Conduct had turned

to the prejudice of every Man, who had ventured upon it out of Tenderneſs to his Reputation. But, Sir, reply'd the Gentleman, the Charge is not ſo general as you apprehend. It is, in the firſt place, ſaid, that you did not execute, as became you, your Office of Ambaſſador from the *States-General*; do you think this is not particular enough to deſerve an Anſwer? It is, reply'd the Duke, provided it were well founded, in reſpect to Authority. For, Sir, you cannot but know, that the Behaviour of an Ambaſſador cannot be properly judged by any but his Maſters! Now to theſe I acquitted my ſelf with honour. I returned into *Holland* when my time was expired, I gave an account of my Negotiations, and was ſo happy as to ſee them approved. To the World, I muſt reſt on this Defence; but in ſpeaking to you, Sir, I will go farther. There never was an Ambaſſador in *Spain*, who either exerted himſelf more than I, or at a leſs Expence to his Country. Sometime after I arrived at *Madrid*, with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary, I found a ſuperiour Title neceſſary. Of this, I informed the States, but at the ſame time ſignified, that, as in deſiring this Character, I had nothing but their Service in view, ſo the giving me the Title would ſuffice, without adding any thing to my Appointments. With this Propoſition they comply'd, nor did I during my Reſidence in *Spain*, directly or indirectly, ſollicit the ſmalleſt Augmentation. In my private Letters, I gave a conſtant account even of the moſt ſecret Tranſactions in that Court, which Accounts were not only uſeful to my Maſters, but to their Allies. As for inſtance, in 1715, when the *Chevalier de St. George* was about to paſs into *Scotland*, and all *Europe* was ſollicitous to know what the Sentiments were of the *Spaniſh* Court, I wrote an Account of his Catholick Majeſty's refuſing to ſupply the *Chevalier*

valier with Money, and of his declaring, that he would in all things deport himſelf as a good Ally to King *George*. In many Matters of Commerce I ſucceeded beyond hopes; and in thoſe wherein I had not the like Succeſs, I gave a clear Account of the Cauſes which hindered it, and ſuggeſted many Expedients, which have been ſince made uſe of. Well, Sir! ſaid the Gentleman, I am ſatisfied on this head; but permit me to tell you, that it is likewiſe ſaid, you betrayed the King of *Spain* at a time when he repoſed the utmoſt Confidence in you, and to thoſe for whom you had profeſſed the greateſt Averſion. Is this too a Calumny? If it be, make me ſenſible of it, I aſſure you it will give me extraordinary Pleaſure. You cannot but know, Sir, ſaid the Duke, that a Miniſter never yet was diſgraced, but in the Opinion of his Cotemporaries he deſerved it. Poſterity indeed hath done juſtice even to theſe unhappy Men, and where juſt Grounds have appeared, have ventured to abſolve them, even at the Expence of Kings. From Poſterity I expect this Juſtice, the rather becauſe I have a plain and clear Title to it. The Council of *Caſtile* declared me a Traitor to his Catholick Majeſty, and then eſtabliſhed a Commiſſion to hear, or rather to find Proofs of it, which, with all their Induſtry, they have not been able to do. On What Evidence then can any impartial Man believe me guilty? On the Evidence, returned his Friend, of the *Britiſh* Miniſter, who charges you in his Memorials with betraying the Contents of private Treaties. Hold, Sir, ſaid the Duke *de Ripperda*, thoſe Memorials prove nothing againſt me; on the contrary, when they are thoroughly underſtood, they will prove me innocent. I did not betray any private Treaties; for in truth there were no ſuch Treaties, and if a prime Miniſter were to be accountable for every thing he ſays in Converſation,

he muſt either reſolve to continue obſtinately ſilent, or be in reality guilty of betraying his Maſter's Secrets. While ſuch Differences ſubſiſted between the Courts of *Madrid* and *London*, as neceſſarily aroſe from the Treaty of *Hanover*, ſuch Diſcourſes as are fixed upon me might very well become a *Spaniſh* Miniſter. On the one hand, the Imperial Miniſtry ſpoke of that Treaty as a direct Breach of the Elector of *Hanover*'s Duty to the Emperor and Empire; and on the other hand, it was natural for the *Spaniſh* Court to magnify as much as poſſible, the Miſchiefs they could do the King of *Great Britain*, in caſe he continued to act as he did, in ſending Squadrons to affront his Catholick Majeſty, and to diſtreſs his Subjects. This, Sir, is my Apology, and perhaps it would not be a difficult thing for me to account as well for the Deſign I am now about to execute. I know the different Reports of the World, and I deſpiſe them. I know it was ſaid, that I became a Proteſtant in *England*, and that I am now diſpoſed to become *Jew*, *Turk*, or *Pagan*. But it is my Comfort, that other People's Thoughts will not affect me. Depend upon it, Sir, that the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Head hath as much Brains in it as heretofore, and that he will not commit any frantick Actions, meerly to make good the Character his Enemies have given him, that he is a *Political Madman*. But, Sir, ſaid his Relation, if things be as you repreſent them, why are you here *incognito?* My being *incognito*, returned the Duke, neceſſarily obliges me to conceal my Reaſons for it, ſince had they not been very important, I ſhould not have endeavoured to conceal myſelf. To you, Sir, I ſhall be always viſible, till ſuch time as theſe Reaſons ſhall loſe their force, and I think proper to appear publickly.

The Diſcourſes of the Duke *de Ripperda* had ſuch an Effect on the honeſt Gentleman who converſed

verſed with him, that he really inclined to pity him, to diſbelieve what he had heard, and to have no longer any Apprehenſions of his being diſpoſed to undertake ſuch chimerical Deſigns as were imputed to him. The common Diſcourſe, after he had diſappeared at the *Hague*, being to this effect, That he had Thoughts of going to *Rome*, to offer his Service to the *Chevalier*; to *Conſtantinople*, in order to make a Friendſhip with *Baſhaw Bonneval*; to *Algiers*, with a view of employing his Money in fitting out Veſſels to cruize on the *Spaniards*; to *Perſia*, to implore the Protection of *Kouli Khan* or to *Morocco*, in order to ſupport *Muly Abdalla* on the Throne by his wiſe Counſels. From his own Diſcourſe, nothing of this ſort could be gathered, and therefore his Friend, when he heard ſuch things mentioned, treated them not only as Fables, but as Calumnies, ſet on foot meerly to blacken the Character of a Man not near ſo culpaple as unfortunate. He continued alſo his Viſits daily to the Duke, who told him the laſt time he ſaw him, that it would not be long before he returned to the *Hague*, and appeared as publickly as uſual. The next Evening, when the Gentleman went again to inquire for the Duke, he was told, that the Nobleman he viſited ſent his Equipage away the day before, and that himſelf and his Lady departed that Morning, whether they could not tell. This opened the Gentleman's Eyes, who ſaw plainly that the Duke had amuſed him only, and that the Perſon he had with him muſt be the Lady who aſſiſted him in his Eſcape; for, as for the Dutcheſs *de Ripperda*, he was well ſatisfied, that ſhe remained at *Madrid*. He therefore dropt from this time forward All his Apologies, all his Excuſes for the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Conduct, and became the moſt open and the moſt irreconcileable Enemy he had.

As ſoon as the Captain of the Veſſel, which, as I have elſewhere obſerved, had been purchaſed for the Duke by his Correſpondent at *London*, had acquainted his Excellency that the Wind was fair for getting out of the *Texel*, he inſtantly went on board, as having nothing more at heart than to deliver himſelf from the Inquiries of his Relation, who daily exerciſed his Parts by a multitude of puzzling Queſtions. The Lady was extremely well accommodated in the Cabbin, and the Duke had the Company of ſome *Jews* whom he had directed the Captain to grant a paſſage on purpoſe that he might injoy their Converſation, becauſe he knew they had reſided long in the Country, and were related to one of the richeſt *Jews* at *Mequinez*. By this, he had a double advantage, he received a perfect Account of the State of *Morocco* as it then ſtood, and he ſecured an Intereſt in a Family which was afterwards of great uſe to him. The Name of one of theſe *Jews* was *Moſes Henriquez*, a Native of *Arragon*, and who had ſtudied in the Univerſity of *Alcala*. His Father was a phyſician, and had lived without any Suſpicion of his being a *Jew*; but his Mother, who was deſcended from the famous *Iſaac Abrabanel*, after her Huſband's Death, fell into the hands of the *Inquiſition*, and *died* in *Priſon*. This Son of hers was then about nine Years old, and had been chriſtened by the Name of *Sebaſtian*. A certain Prieſt had charged himſelf with the Care of his Education, and ſent him to be brought up at a diſtance from his Relations, that he might have no Tincture of Judaiſm. But when the young *Henriquez* had arrived at the Age of nineteen, he found means on the Prieſt's Death, to poſſeſs himſelf of twelve thouſand Pieces of Eight, which deſcended to him from his Father, and applying himſelf to the Earl of *Peterborough* for a Paſs, retired firſt into *England*, and from thence went to *Barbary*, where

where his Mother's Brother having eſcaped from *Liſbon*, was ſettled, and carried on a conſiderable Trade. This *Henriquez* became very intimate with the Duke *de Ripperda*, on account of his hating the *Spaniards*, if poſſible, more than he. But in other reſpects, it did him ſome hurt; for he no ſooner perceived that the Duke had a Leaning to the *Mooriſh* Intereſt, than he began to magnify the Power of that Empire beyond all bounds, and to fill the Duke's Head with ſuch Notions of the Forces, Wealth, and martial Diſpoſition of the Inhabitans of *Fez* and *Morocco*, as induced him to imagine, that he ſhould be quickly in a Condition of avenging himſelf on his Enemies by Fire and Sword; which he could not more ardently wiſh, than did his Companion *Henriquez*, who deceived him rather in conſequence of his own Bigotry, than from any Deſign, as appeared afterwards by his launching out conſiderable Sums in ſupport of the Duke's Projects.

There was nothing very conſiderable happened in the Voyage, and therefore there is no neceſſity for dwelling long upon it. On their Arrival at *Tangier*, the Duke took up his Quarters with his Friends the *Jews*, who treated him with all the Reſpect imaginable, and who promiſed to conduct him themſelves to *Mequinez*. They had however ſome Buſineſs to diſpatch there and at *Tetuan*, which conſtrained them to make a ſhort Stay, and thereby gave the Duke an Opportunity of looking about him. A Man of his Penetration did not require much time to diſcern, that the Pictures which he had hitherto ſeen of this Country and its Inhabitants, were drawn very much to their Advantage. The *Moors* appeared on a very ſhort Acquaintance in their proper Colours, that is to ſay, haughty, inſolent, full of Caprice, Cruelty and Revenge. As he lived among the *Jews*, he could not avoid penetrating

trating the miſerable Fear, conſtant Anxiety, and wretched Dependence, in which they paſs'd their time, meerly for the ſake of amaſſing of a little Money, which it required more care to hide than to get. The Suſpicion of being rich, holding in a *Jew* the place of a Capital Crime. As for the Chriſtian Captives, the putting them before his eyes not only to the moſt ſervile Labours, but alſo to ſuch as are only fit for Beaſts, ſtruck him with Horror with reſpect to their Maſters, and with the deepeſt Compaſſion for themſelves. He relieved them generouſly for the preſent, and formed in his Mind a ſettled Reſolution of delivering them from all their Miſeries if once he attained ſupreme Power. As for the Lady, many of the *Jews* Wives were *Spaniſh* Women, and the Flattery of their Careſſes, in which it is well known they excel, eaſily took off her Thoughts from the Friends ſhe had made in other Places. Beſides, ſeeing there were *Chriſtian* Merchants ſettled in *Barbary*, ſhe laid aſide all Apprehenſions, ſuppoſing that it would not be a difficult thing for her to return into *Europe* in caſe the Duke died. The ſmall time therefore that they remained at *Tangier* was ſpent in a way equally agreeable and uſeful; but this did not hinder the Duke from being a little impatient, as he generally was, when he continu'd long in a Place, for which reaſon he hurried his Friends, who, to ſhew him the great Conſideration they had for him, departed at his requeſt, tho' they had not abſolutely finiſhed their Affairs, referring ſuch as were of leaſt Importance to their Return.

In his Journey to *Mequinez*, the Duke had Leiſure and Opportunity to make his Obſervations on the Soil and Climate, which he did with all the Accuracy poſſible; not ſo much with a Deſign to ſatisfy himſelf in their Properties, as that he might

might judge of the Sincerity of Admiral *Perez* in other reſpects, by the Truth he found in his Deſcriptions of theſe. When they came to the City, the Duke choſe rather to lodge at the Houſe of a *French* Merchant than with the *Jews*, whom he ſaw to be a deſpiſed People, and therefore he thought it no longer his Intereſt to live among them. He certainly chang'd for the better, the *French* Merchant's Houſe being one of the beſt ſituate in *Mequinez*, with a pleaſant Garden, and Fountains almoſt in every Room. The Miſtreſs of the Houſe was a *Spaniard*, about eighteen Years old, a Native of *Burgos*, and the ſworn Friend of her Country-woman the fair *Caſtilian*, from the firſt hour of their converſing together. As for the Merchant, he was a Man of good Manners and good Senſe; the firſt inclined him to receive the Duke *de Ripperda* into his Houſe, as an illuſtrious Stranger, and the latter taught him how to make a proper uſe of ſo extraordinary a Gueſt. He was hardly ſettled in his Houſe, before he began to inquire of the Merchant, by what means he might beſt obtain an Audience of the Emperor. To which the Merchant frankly anſwered, that it would be eaſier to obtain an Audience, than to be certain of the Manner in which he might be treated therein. Your Excellency muſt ſee (continued he) that the *Moors* are not the politeſt People in the world, and you may credit me when I tell you, that the Emperor is as whimſical, and as little to be accounted for in his Actions as any of them. The Duke was not at all aſtoniſhed at this; but with great Gravity anſwered, That all Countries had their Cuſtoms, and all Princes their Humours; that he no more expected to find in *Africk* a Monarch of perfect good Senſe, and ceremonious Politeneſs, than he hoped to meet with a Climate as moderate as that of *France*: but that as he found no difficulty in living where he

was,

was, so he persuaded himself he should not find much trouble in accommodating his Disposition to that which reigned in his Imperial Majesty's Court. That he had Letters Recommendatory from *Admiral Perez*, and that all he wanted was an Opportunity for being admitted to the Royal Presence, which the Merchant promised to procure, and was quickly after as good as his word.

At this Audience the Duke not only delivered the Letters he had received from *Perez*, but gave a short Account also of the Reasons which had induced him to retire into *Barbary*, and a distinct Declaration of his Hatred to the *Spaniards*, and his earnest Desire to expose his Life in the Service of his Majesty against them, either in *Africa*, or in *Europe*. It so happened, that *Muly Abdallah* was extremely serious that day, and more inclined to think than usual; he therefore answered the Duke very properly, though in a less gracious Manner than he expected. He informed him, that he was not ignorant either of his Quality or Adventures, that he had a great Confidence in *Admiral Perez*, but that as the Matters he proposed were of the utmost Consequence, he ought to have patience till they could be deliberated on, that in the mean time he would do well to think of quitting his Errors, and embracing the true Religion, which would be the first Step to his Favour, and without which he could not so much as hope for his Protection; but said the Emperor at parting, this I suppose will cost you little Pain, the Doctrines of our Law being so clear and so self-evident, that you cannot help apprehending, and being convinced of their Truth when you have once heard them, I will make choice of a Person proper to instruct you.

Though it cannot be conceived, that the Duke had any Reason to be pleased with so jejune an Answer, yet it is certain, that he returned with all

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the Marks of Joy in his Countenance, that could have been expected from the moſt favourable Reception. This had a proper Effect, it abſolutely confounded the Merchant, and it raiſed exceedingly the Spirits of the fair *Caſtilian*, as well as of his Valet, who made no queſtion that all his Maſter's Promiſes would be quickly fulfill'd, and that he ſhould in a very ſhort ſpace become a Miniſter of State; for which however he was but indifferently qualified, being ſcarce able to read, and having forgot how to write. The next Evening, the Duke ſent for his Hoſt to his Apartment, and having by adroit Compliments to himſelf and his Wife, high Profeſſions of Gratitude and diſtant Promiſes, fixed both his Attention and his Confidence, he began to enter more frankly into his own Affair than he had formerly done, and to give the Merchant to underſtand, that he ſhould quickly be conſidered in another light than that of a private Perſon. There needed nothing more to aſtoniſh the *Frenchman*, and put him almoſt out of his Wits. He looked upon his Excellency from that moment as upon a Devil incarnate, knowing well that there was no obtaining Preferment from a *Mooriſh* Prince, on any other Terms than that of parting with the Chriſtian Faith at the firſt ſtep. But he had Preſence of Mind enough to conceal his Surprize, or rather the Apprehenſion he was under from his having to do with a Man of this Stamp, filled him with Caution. He therefore treated him with more Reſpect than ever, and gave him a ſincere Detail of the State of the Court, and of the general Characters of the principal Perſons therein; adding at the Cloſe, that one of the Emperor's principal Favourites was a *French Renegade*, whoſe Name was *Ali*. At this, as the Merchant foreſaw, the Duke immediately catched, and deſiring to be acquainted with this Man's Character, and if poſſible to be introduced

duced to his Acquaintance; both which his Hoſt very chearfully promiſed, as conceiving it the only way to rid himſelf of a formidable Inmate, from whoſe Principles an honeſt Man had all things to fear.

This *Ali*, Sir, ſaid the Merchant, was a Monk, a Celeſtine, I think but a ſcandalous Debauchée, inſomuch that finding it impoſſible to reſide amongſt Catholicks, he took a Reſolution of flying to *England*, where he turned Proteſtant; but not having found his Account in his Change of Religion, he fled hither and turned *Mohammedan*. By this means he gained Admittance to the Emperor's Court, wherein at preſent there is no body more conſiderable. He is without queſtion a Man of Parts, of an inſinuating Temper, gay, ſprightly, and full of Buffonry, which diverts *Muly Abdalla* ſo much, that he ſuffers him to ſay and do what he pleaſes. Have you any Correſpondence, ſaid the Duke *de Ripperda*, with this Man? Yes, return'd his Hoſt. He comes hither frequently; and if your Excellency thinks fit, I will introduce you to him to-morrow. The Duke ſignified his Aſſent civilly, but without expreſſing the great Joy this Propoſition gave him; for he now hoped to ſee all his Difficulties removed, to beſeech the Emperor with new Sollicitations, and to make himſelf conſidered in the light he deſired to be conſidered, that is, as the moſt zealous Servant of the King of *Morocco*, and the moſt determined Enemy of *Spain*.

The Merchant was as good as his word, for having made a magnificent Entertainment, he invited *Ali* to participate thereof, and before the Feaſt introduced him to the Duke *de Ripperda*. They ſat together at Table, converſed with, drank to each other, and before they roſe were as good Friends, as if they had been twenty Years acquainted.

quainted. The next day the Duke went to wait upon *Ali*, who regaled him with great Magnificence. He told the Duke, that nothing could poſſibly give him greater Pleaſure than to meet in this Part of the World with ſo great a Man. I have, ſaid he, for a long time ſupported myſelf with the Emperor by Dint of a reaſonable Aſſurance, which I kept up rather by the Strength of my natural Temper, than any other way. I abhor theſe *Barbarians*, I deteſt their Cuſtoms, and I have no Opinion of their Underſtandings, and I ſay this every day to their faces; the Emperor laughs at it, and they, if they durſt, would ſend me to the Flames; but no matter for that, while I injoy the Protection of *Muly Abdalla*, I am in no great pain about their Reſentments. But methinks, ſaid the Duke, this is an odd way of making court to the Emperor, who, for ought I perceive, is not much more polite than the reſt of his Subjects. You are miſtaken, ſaid the Renegade, he is both more polite, and more knowing than any of them, and would be yet more wiſe and more capable of governing, if he was not ſo much inclined to Indolence and Eaſe. For my part, I have no hopes but in the Emperor, which I endeavour to demonſtrate by my Conduct. He is ſenſible of this, and therefore protects me as a Man on whom he may always depend, becauſe he knows I have no other Friend. Well, reply'd the Duke, you have reaſon to ſpeak of him as you do; but to deal freely with you, I never had an Audience which pleaſed me ſo little, as that he honoured me with. Very poſſible, returned *Ali*, he is not a very active Prince, and conſequently does not reliſh extraordinary Projects. However in time, perhaps, he may come to be of another Opinion: I will try what I can do for you, it may be I may obtain for you a ſecond Audience, where inhe will treat you better.

But

But let me tell you one thing by the way; in this Country there is nothing to be done without Preſents; a little well laid out this way is one of the ſhorteſt Methods of coming at a Fortune. O! mighty well, reply'd the Duke, I was apprized of that before I left *Europe*, and wherever you find them neceſſary I ſhall not be deficient. This Converſation ended, the Duke took his leave, big with mighty hopes, which for once were not diſappointed.

A few days after *Ali* came and acquainted him, that, according to his Promiſe, he had mentioned him to the Emperor, who very readily granted another Audience, for which he deſired he would prepare himſelf the next day. Prepare myſelf, ſaid the Duke, how? What ſort of Ceremonies are in faſhion at this Court? or how ſhall I be inſtructed in them? Why, reply'd *Ali*, all Courts have their Ceremonials, and this among the reſt. You muſt yourſelf be dreſſed magnificently, your Servant alſo muſt have on a Habit of Ceremony, and your Hoſt, I warrant you, will furniſh you with ſome People to compleat your Train. This, with a moderate Preſent to the Introductor of Ambaſſadors, and another worthy of the Emperor's Acceptance is all you need.

The Duke was ready very early, being dreſt in a Suit of Crimſon Velvet trimm'd with Gold. M. *St. Martin* alſo was very handſomely equipt, and much more impatient than his Maſter, ſuppoſing that Preferment was now at hand, and having too much good Manners to let it wait for him. The Merchant ſent three of his Servants in the beſt Garb they had, and with this Retinue he went firſt to the Houſe of *Ali*, and from thence to Court; where, with much Ceremony, he was introduced to the Emperor, who made a very ſplendid Appearance, and who received him much in the ſame

manner

manner he had done before. After a quarter of an hour's Attendance, thoſe who waited in the Emperor's Preſence were diſmiſſed, and the Duke and his Friend *Ali* left alone, each of them having a Cuſhion preſented for them to ſit on. This being done, the Emperor who ſpake *Spaniſh* very well, addreſſed himſelf to the Duke *de Ripperda:* "*Ali*, "ſaid he, hath aſſured me, that you are a Perſon "who well deſerve my Favour, I accept the Offer "you have made me of your Service, and as ſoon "as *Perez* ſhall return, whom I ſuddenly expect, "Orders ſhall be given for examining the Schemes "you may propoſe, and effectual Care ſhall be ta-"ken that nothing be wanting capable of contribu-"ting to our Deſire of avenging ourſelves upon the "*Spaniards*." The Duke thank'd his Majeſty in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms; and would willingly have entered into a more particular Diſcourſe, but the Emperor waved it, by ſaying, that as he could do nothing till Admiral *Perez* arrived, ſo the Duke would do well to conſider and reviſe his Projects, without communicating them till then. In which, ſince there was no help for it, the Duke acquieſced. At the Cloſe of the Audience, he preſented the Emperor with the Ring, which, inſtead of a Jewel, had a Watch nicely ſet, wherewith, the *Mooriſh* Monarch was prodigiouſly pleaſed, and even condeſcended to inform him, that it would not be long before he received Marks of his regard for him. When they retired, his Friend *Ali* invited him to Dinner, which he accepted, and went with all his Train in Ceremony to that Renegade's Houſe.

When the Entertainment prepared on this Occaſion was over, *Ali* adviſed the Duke to ſend for the fair *Caſtilian*, and to make uſe of an Apartment in his Houſe, which was large, pleaſant, well furniſhed, and which he was aſſured he might command as much as if it was his own. The Duke

conſented, and the Merchant thereby reaped the Benefit of his Contrivance, the Duke quitting his Houſe the very next Day, and making him a very handſome Preſent when he quitted it. From this time forward, the Duke wore the Habit of the Country, and conformed himſelf in all outward Reſpects to the Manners of the People with whom he lived. As for the *Caſtilian*, ſhe lived pleaſantly enough. *Ali* had two Wives, one of whom, a Girl of ſixteen, was from *Caſtile* alſo, had been taken by a Corſair, and preſented to the Emperor, who, as a Mark of his Favour, was pleaſed to beſtow her upon *Ali*. If the Duke had ſo pleaſed, he might alſo have had a Seraglio; but in this Particular he ſhewed ſome Moderation; and either from Gratitude to her, who had reſcued him from Bondage at the hazard of her Life, or from a Senſe that his Conſtitution did not qualify him for amorous Adventures, he choſe to make no uſe of that Privilege, which hath tempted ſo many others to abjure their Faith. Thus the private Concerns of the Duke were compleatly ſettled to his Satisfaction. He had a Man with whom he could converſe freely, and who thought juſt in his own way; the *Caſtilian* was perfectly quiet, and began to recover that Beauty which had been impaired by the Chagrin ſhe had lately endured; to which perhaps, this did not a little contribute, that every body at *Mequinez* treated her as Dutcheſs of *Ripperda*. One may wonder at this, conſidering that the Chriſtians eſtabliſh'd at *Morocco*, could not but know that the Duke had a Wife living at *Madrid*, and that conſequently this Lady was nothing leſs than Dutcheſs of *Ripperda*. However, if we reflect on the State *Ripperda* was now in, and the Manner in which he lived, we need not wonder that the Chriſtians did any thing to obtain his Favour; for in that Country, where the Frown of a Prince is attended with imme-

immediate Deſtruction, thoſe who are for a time in his favour, not only obtain Reſpect, but a kind of Adoration.

In his publick Character, the Duke was as fortunate; for by frequent Converſations he gained ſuch an Aſcendency over the Mind of *Muly Abdalla*, that he told him frankly, he was deſirous of ſeeing him at the head of his Armies, and of reviving the Spirit of the *Moors* by a War with *Spain*; but that he looked upon ſuch a Step to be inexpedient till the Arrival of Admiral *Perez*, becauſe in fact, none of his Council but he had a Capacity for tranſacting ſuch an Affair; and beſides he was ſo much beloved by the People, that it was of great conſequence they ſhould ſee he entered into and approv'd theſe Meaſures. As to the reſt, the Duke was heard with Attention in Council, the more intelligent of the *Moors* were captivated by his manner of ſpeaking, and the Duke knew ſo well how to accommodate his Diſcourſe to each Man's particular way of thinking, that in a few Weeks, he directed all things without having the envied Title of Prime Miniſter, or even being thought to direct them by thoſe he governed; ſo artfully did he repreſent his own Notions as borrowed from them, and with ſuch Addreſs did he place their Complacence for his Sentiments in the light of Opinions purely their own.

The more he conſidered the Temper and Capacity of *Muly Abdalla*, the more the Duke was at a loſs how to conduct himſelf; he ſaw that Prince had great Faults, eſpecially Indolence, and the Love of Women, together with a timorous Averſion for War, ſpringing from the Remembrance of what had paſt in the opening of his Reign, when a cruel and moſt bloody Struggle fixed him upon the Throne. But with all this he was very far from being ſunk in thoſe Vices, which in a manner ſtupified *Muly*

Ahmedy his Predeceſſor. For the reigning Emperor, tho' he drank ſometimes with his Favourites, yet never attempted to do any Buſineſs when he had indulged himſelf in his Cups. He was beſides ſlow in ſpeaking; thoughtful, when not with his Women; and ſo juſt to his word, that the Fathers of Mercy in their Tranſactions with him about Slaves, would truſt to his Honour, which was more than ever they thought fit to do with reſpect to any of his Predeceſſors. In the eyes of any body but the Duke *de Ripperda*, theſe Qualities would have render'd him amiable; but our Politician would have been better pleaſed, if the Emperor had been more a *Barbarian*, provided his Fury might have been pointed againſt the *Spaniards*, and the whole Force of *Morocco* poured firſt on the *Spaniſh* Gariſons in *Africk*, and then tranſported into *Europe*. As it was, the Schemes he offered for blocking up *Ceuta* and *Melilla*, for ruining the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, and for uniting all the Piratical States of *Barbary* in a League, to tranſport an Army of *Moors* into *Spain*, could not quicken either the Emperor or his Council, who, tho' they were well pleaſed with theſe Overtures, were of themſelves incapable of carrying them into execution, and did not as yet ſee any cauſe to truſt the Duke abſolutely in all things, who in reſpect to them was a perfect Stranger, and in outward Appearance a Chriſtian. While things were in this Situation, the Duke, though he had nothing which ought properly ſpeaking to have given him pain (Remorſe of Conſcience excepted) yet was he ſo chagrin'd at his being forced to live ſo long in quiet, that he began to grow as melancholy as he had ever been when in *Segovia*, as if to him Reſt and Peace had been a Priſon.

But to put an end to his Diſquiet, when he was leaſt looked for, Admiral *Perez* arrived from *Europe* at *Tangier*, and ſoon after came to *Mequinez*,

nez, to the joy of the Emperor and his Subjects, but much more to the unfortunate Duke *de Ripperda*, who would often ſay to himſelf in his Reveries; Perez *is old, he is infirm, he is not able to bear cold Countries, he may die, and then I ſhall ſee myſelf reduced to the neceſſity of running about with my Projects from Court to Court, as the* Savoyards *do with their Boxes.* But upon the Admiral's Arrival all his fears ceaſed; he went immediately to welcome him, and the Admiral gave him the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that he would perform to him at *Mequinez*, all that he had promiſed him at the *Hague*. He was as good as his word, for the very firſt time he ſate in Council, he gave ſo ample a Detail of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Abilities, and of the mighty Apprehenſions the People in *Europe* had on account of his Attachment to his Imperial Majeſty's Intereſt, that they inſtantly reſolved to truſt him in all things, and to leave the Preparations for, as well as the Conduct of the War, entirely to his Care. As this was determined, when the Duke *de Ripperda* himſelf was not preſent, Admiral *Perez* was charged to acquaint him therewith, in ſuch a manner as ſhould to him ſeem proper.

The next day, the Admiral went to the Houſe of *Ali*, and having firſt paid his Compliments in general Terms to the Duke, told him at laſt his Meſſage in theſe Words: "Your Excel-
"lency, after a little Step of Probation, may im-
"mediately mount to one of the firſt Dignities in
"the Empire, and have it in your own power to
"execute your own Schemes as you think fit. And
"what, ſaid the Duke, is that Step of Probation?
"Nothing, cry'd out *Ali*, who was preſent, but the
"trivial Buſineſs of Circumciſion, which is very
"little more Pain than Cupping or Bleeding. Say
"you ſo, ſaid the Duke *de Ripperda*, changing
"Colour, if it be ſo ſmall a thing, why is it in-

" ſiſted on? all other Marks of Affection and At-
" tachment to your Cauſe, I am ready, I am deſi-
" rous to give, but this I wiſh I might be excuſed.
" You ſhould have thought of that, ſaid *Perez*, in
" *Europe*; there is now no Remedy, be circum-
" ciſed and a Baſhaw, or remain as you are a pri-
" vate Man. Methinks, anſwered the Duke, you
" might have treated this Subject a little more de-
" licately. True, ſaid *Perez*, but I love to come
" to the point with my Friends; I have anſwered
" for you to the Emperor and his Council, my
" Head is at ſtake, and therefore for once Compli-
" ments may be excuſed. You have reaſon, good
" old Man, ſaid the Duke *de Ripperda*, I ſubmit.
" It is as you ſay, theſe things ſhould have been
" thought upon in *Europe*; in *Mequinez*, I deſire
" to be known only as an Enemy to the *Spaniards*,
" and am ready to undergo whatever may enable
" me to chaſtiſe them." At theſe words, both *Ali* and *Perez* embraced him, and ſwore everlaſting Fidelity to him in all his Deſigns, provided he became a good *Muſſulman*, which he as ſolemnly promiſed. Then *Perez* propoſed to him hiring a Houſe for himſelf, taking proper Servants, and living in a manner ſuitable to his Dignity; to all which, by the Advice of *Ali*, he agreed, and ſaw with Amazement the Expedition with which old *Perez* got a large Houſe furniſhed for him, and regulated his Family in ſuch a manner, that if he had been twenty Years in *Africk*, he could not have been more properly eſtabliſhed in all reſpects.

Immediately after his Removal, the Thoughts of having carried his point, the Pomp and Splendour in which he lived, the deep Submiſſion of the *Moors*, the Reſpect ſhewn him by the Chriſtians, kept his Mind ſo fully [illegible], that he appeared as brisk and as full of [illegible] as when at the head of the King of [illegible] Councils. Nay, ſo predominant

minant was his Vanity, that he could not help writing into *Holland*, and, though it regarded only Buſineſs as a Merchant, he ſubſcribed the *Baſhaw Duke de Ripperda*; which Letter was immediately ſhewn about as a Curioſity to his perpetual Diſgrace. But when he began to think a little, when he ſaw the Dejection and Deſpair, which in very legible Characters were written on the Forehead of her he called his Wife, and who was juſt ready to lie in, he began to grow more ſerious, and even to incline once more to his Melancholy, eſpecially as the day fix'd for his Circumciſion approached. His Friends *Ali* and Admiral *Perez* did their utmoſt to ſupport his Spirits and to divert him. They repreſented to him in the ſtrongeſt light the Confidence which the Inhabitants of *Barbary* repoſed in him, and the glorious things, which under his Auſpice they expected to perform againſt all their Enemies; intimating at the ſame time, that he ought immediately to think of a Plan for beſieging *Ceuta*, which having ſuſtained a Blockade of forty Years, it was not to be doubted the *Moors* would believe him invincible, by whom it could be ſpeedily taken. While the Duke was meditating on this Deſign, the fair *Caſtilian* was brought to bed of a Son, which ſerved to embaraſs him ſtill more with thoſe to whom he had devoted his Service. For no ſooner was Admiral *Perez* acquainted therewith, than he went immediately to congratulate his Friend on a piece of good Fortune, which, as the old Man told him, might, if properly improved, do him the greateſt Service. If you were not my Friend, reply'd the Duke *de Ripperda*, I ſhould think you bantered me; what Service can a new-born Child be of to a Man in my Situation? What Service? ſaid the Admiral ſmiling, why make the Boy the Pledge of your Fidelity to the Religion of *Mohammed*. The Duke ſtarted at this, for he knew well that the very

Mention of it would have broken the Heart of the *Caſtilian*; he therefore waved it as well as he could, that he might gain time to conſult with *Ali*.

When he mentioned it to that debauched Infidel, he appeared no leſs ſurprized than the Duke, and his Concern increaſed when he was informed of the Obligations his Friend lay under to the Mother of the Infant. After remaining ſilent for ſome time, "Your Excellency, ſaid he, may act as you think "fit; but, for my own part, I would not break "the Mother's Heart to ſatisfy all the *Moors* in the "World. Beſides, the Buſineſs of the Emperor "is with you, and not with a Child born yeſterday; "we may take what Steps we pleaſe for ourſelves, "but as for our Children——I ſay no more; "but let me beſeech your Excellency to let the Child "receive Baptiſm to-morrow. This old Man has "a great Aſcendency over you, if he ſhould draw "you into this thing, it would firſt break the La-"dy's Heart, and then your own; believe me it "would, and therefore take my advice, when "*Perez* finds the thing done, he will ſay no "more about it." The Duke ruminated on the Counſel which *Ali* had given him all Night, and in the Morning as ſoon as he was up he ſent to the Convent of the Holy Trinity, and had the Child baptized.

When this came to the Admiral's knowledge, he was extremely offended, and ſpoke of it with much warmth to the Duke *de Ripperda*, who was forced to uſe all his Art to ſoften him; and that he might make ſome Reparation for ſaving the Soul of his Son, he perſuaded his Valet to turn *Turk*, which he did very readily, becauſe he had overheard Admiral *Perez* one day ſay, that no Man could be a Baſhaw that was not of their Religion. The fair *Caſtilian* uſed her utmoſt Endeavour to prevent this execrable Action, but to no purpoſe. The Duke

was

was bent upon it, that he might be the better able to judge, whether Circumciſion was a thing to be endured or not, and therefore when his Servant aſſured him, that the Operation was neither very painful nor dangerous, (as it happened in his Caſe) he no longer heſitated a moment. Nothing could equal the Joy of the Emperor and of Admiral *Perez* when they heard of this; for the Duke to gain time, had deſired to be inſtructed in the *Mohammedan* Religion, and had treated him who had the care of converting him in ſo Cavalier a manner, that it ſeemed as if at laſt he would preſerve his Religion at the Expence of his Honours. But this was all a Feint, that the Reputation of bringing him over might redound to the Emperor alone, by whoſe Diſcourſes he pretended he was convinced. In fine, on the day which had been fixt, he was circumciſed with great Solemnity; but either thro' Accident, or Deſign, the Operator ſlipt his Knife, and cut him ſo deſperately, that a Surgeon was called in to ſtop the Blood, and the Duke was carried home in a Swoon more dead than alive; which, however, was diſguiſed from the People, who made mighty Rejoicings on this occaſion, as if the Converſion of an old abandon'd Sinner to their Religion could have fixed the Favour of God for ever to their Empire.

It is very difficult to imagine a State ſo diſtreſſed as that of the Duke *de Ripperda* at this time. His Fever induced by the Operation threatned his Life, and except *Ali* he had not a Friend in the World to converſe with; for the fair *Caſtilian*, who uſed to be the Partner of all his Cares, refuſed to come to him, nor could ſhe be mollified by the Prayers and Intreaties of *Ali*, or of *St. Martin*, who repreſented the Duke's Danger in the ſtrongeſt Colours imaginable. As he grew better, however, he recovered his Spirits, and after two or three Viſits from Admiral

miral *Perez*, began to reſume his Projects for retaking the ſtrong Places poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards* in *Africk*. With this view, he diſguiſed his Servant, his faithful Servant *St. Martin*, and ſent him as a Spy to *Melilla*, tho' one would have thought he might have found ſome other Perſon more fit for that Employment, and have ſpared a Man ſo uſeful and neceſſary to himſelf, as well as one who had done him ſo many and great Services. It ſo happened, that the Man was lucky in this Expedition, and returned ſafe to the Camp, where he had no ſooner rendered an Account to the Duke, than the Duke immediately gave Advice to the Emperor, whereupon a grand Council was held, in which it was determined to open the Trenches before *Ceuta*. The moſt experienced Officers among the *Moors*, when this Queſtion came to be put, declared themſelves in the negative. They repreſented with great Earneſtneſs the many fruitleſs Attempts they had made within the ſpace of forty Years, the great Expence of Blood and Treaſure which the Blockade only had coſt the Empire, and the Reaſons which Experience had taught them, whence they believed the Place to be impregnable. But to theſe the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* anſwered ſo clearly, removed their Difficulties with ſuch Facility, and opened to them ſo many new Methods of acting offenſively, that they came immediately over to his Opinion, ſo that it was unanimouſly reſolved to beſiege the Place in form, and that without any farther Delay.

The next day there was a grand Promotion of Officers, on which occaſion the Renegades had an extraordinary Reſpect ſhewn them through the Intereſt of *Ripperda* and *Ali*; the former of whom was declared Commander in Chief, and the latter had a very conſiderable Employment given him. *Muly Abdalla* being now fully reſolved to proſecute the Plans of his new Favourite, took all imaginable

pains

pains to assemble a choice Body of Infantry for the Reinforcement of the Troops before *Ceuta*, that no time might be lost in reducing that important Place. This Body of Foot, to the Number of ten thousand Men, being once drawn together, and in a Condition to march, the *Bashaw de Ripperda* put himself at their head, and conducted them in Person to *Ceuta*, where he directed all things with the same Genius, Spirit, and indefatigable Industry that could have been expected in a General who had never studied any thing but the Art of War. When he had taken all the necessary Precautions, had inspired the Troops with unusual Ardour, by leading them in Person on several slight Expeditions, and given the Engineers an Idea of the Works necessary for carrying on the Siege, he returned to *Mequinez*, where he was received with great Applause, the Emperor having been informed by the *Moorish* Officers, who accompanied him, that he had absolutely changed the Face of Affairs, and filled the Troops who formed the Blockade with such Vigour, that instead of looking upon themselves as condemned to a hopeless Work, they now talk'd of nothing but Feasts and Donations, on their taking possession of the Place, which they made no question of effecting within the space of a few Months. As for the Bashaw himself, he affected great Modesty in his Behaviour, he spoke of the Fortifications at *Ceuta* as much more considerable in themselves, than they had appeared to him from the Plans; he commended the Courage and Discipline of the Garrison, and the Dispositions made by the Governour for its Defence; but concluded with applauding the Courage, Patience and Resolution of the Besiegers, and assured the Emperor and his Council, that maugre all Opposition, he doubted not to make himself Master of the Place, and that within a reasonable Space, but desired the proper

Supplies

Supplies of Ammunition, Proviſions, and all other Neceſſaries for the carrying on of the Siege, ſhould be ſent without delay to the Camp, that the Spirits of the Soldiers might not flag, and that they might have no doubt of his exerting all his Intereſt in their favour. His Propoſals being backed by *Perez*, were immediately aſſented to, and the coming of this Convoy to the Camp, did effectually conciliate the Hearts of the *Moors* to their new Baſhaw, whom they looked upon as the common Father of the Troops, and beſtowed on him every where the loudeſt and moſt exceſſive Praiſes.

But the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* was not long ſo happy, for his Spy M. *de St. Martin*, who was promiſed Mountains for running daily the hazard of being broke upon the Wheel, brought him Advice that the *Spaniards* were preparing to tranſport an Army into *Africk*, in order to retake *Oran*, and perhaps to puſh their Conqueſts ſtill farther. He preſented him at the ſame time with the King of *Spain*'s Declaration, dated at *Seville* the 6th of *June* 1732, counterſigned by M. *Patinho*, containing the Reaſons of that Expedition, and declaring what was the true Intent thereof. He likewiſe brought a diſtinct Account of the Armada, which conſiſted of twelve Ships of the Line, two Frigats, ſeven Galleys, eighteen Galliots, twelve long Barks, two Bomb Veſſels, and upwards of four hundred Tranſports, under the Command of the Count *de Montemar* as Captain-General. They were then aſſembled, being the beginning of the Month of *June*, in the Port of *Alicant*, and it was expected that the Troops would embark in a few days. The Duke ſeeing no time was to be loſt, immediately communicated his Diſpatches, and offered his Imperial Majeſty to contribute to the utmoſt of his power to the Preſervation of the Place. *Muly Abdalla* thank'd him for his Zeal, and confided in him

him ſo far, as to devolve on him the Care of furniſhing *Oran* with every thing neceſſary for ſuſtaining a long Siege, which he performed very effectually, though it ſerved only to put ſo many vaſt Magazines into the hands of the *Spaniards*, though not by his fault. He likewiſe ſerved in Perſon in the Army deſtined to cover that Place, and gave with great Skill and Intrepidity all the neceſſary Orders for taking ſuch Poſts, as might moſt incommode the Enemy in their Debarkment. *Ali* went alſo with them at the head of three hundred Horſe; and though it could not be expected that he ſhould ſhew much Conduct as an Officer, yet his alert Zeal was of great uſe in animating the Troops, and engaging them to remain firm in the Poſts aſſigned them, which hitherto no *Mooriſh* Troops had ever done. The Weather all this time was extremely favourable, the *Spaniſh* Fleet being toſt at Sea for ſeven days together, and yet by the great Care and Skill of the Admiral, there was not ſo much as one Tranſport loſt; ſo that on the 28th of *June*, N. S. they came into the great Port, which the *Spaniards* call corruptly *Mazalquivir*, and began to make Preparations for debarking the next day, notwithſtanding the whole *Mooriſh* Army was encamped within ſight of the Place.

The Duke *de Ripperda*, or rather the Baſhaw, was at this time ſo extremely ill of the Gout, that he could not get out of his Bed, yet he would not be perſuaded to retire to any Place of Safety, but remained with the Army, which conſiſted of twelve thouſand Men, excluſive of two thouſand, who were deſtin'd to gariſon the Place. When he was informed, that Part of the *Spaniſh* Fleet had been ſeen ſteering ſeven Miles below *Oran*, he ſent for *Bigottillos*, who commanded the Gariſon, and on account of his Sickneſs the Army alſo, and told him, that this was only a Feint of the Duke *de Montemar*,

Montemar, whereby he meant to oblige him to divide his Army, but that he ſhould by no means be drawn to do it, but remain firm in his Poſt, till ſuch time as the *Chriſtian Dogs*, as he called them, ſhould attempt to ſet foot on ſhore, when he ought to ſend ſeveral Detachments of Horſe to incommode them, without fear of the Artillery of the Ships, which the Duke told him they durſt not play before Day-break, for fear of hurting their own Men. All *Ripperda*'s Notions were right, and the *Moors* were not a little encourag'd when they conſider'd the Foreſight of their Commander. They therefore did their Duty extremely well for two Hours, while the firſt Troops were debarking; but a *Spaniſh* Serjeant of Dragoons with ſixteen Men having poſſeſſed himſelf of a Fountain at a conſiderable diſtance from the reſt of the Forces, *Ali* ſurrounded him with three hundred Horſe, and attacked him thrice with great Vigour. The Serjeant however kept the Place, though nine of his Men were mortally wounded. This ſo aſtoniſhed the *Mooriſh* Horſe, that they could not be brought to attack him a fourth time. By this time, the *Condé de Montemar* being himſelf aſhore, took ſuch a Method in landing his Troops, that notwithſtanding the Directions of *Ripperda*, the *Moors* were not able to do him any conſiderable Miſchief. For as each Battalion came aſhore, he detached the firſt Line to an advanced Poſt, and theſe moving forward as faſt as they could, the Space behind them was left clear for the reſt of the Troops to form without Confuſion; which Method added ſo much to the Amazement of the *Moors*, that they retired to the Hills about Noon, and left the Count the reſt of the Day to act therein as he thought proper.

When the Duke *de Ripperda* was informed of this, he was extremely chagrin'd; however he call'd a Council of War, wherein he directed the Operations

tions of the next day, hoping that the *Spaniards*, being extremely fatigued with the Buſineſs of the Day before, and the Heat of the Weather, might eaſily be overpower'd by the multitude of the *Mooriſh* Army, which was now encreaſed to twenty thouſand Men. The Officers and Soldiers dreading the Duke's Reſentment, who ſpoke with unuſual Warmth of their cowardly Behaviour on the twenty-ninth, exerted themſelves on the thirtieth of *June*, with extraordinary Reſolution, inſomuch, that they forced the *Spaniſh* Infantry poſted on the right to give way, whereby the Army was put into ſome Confuſion. The Duke *de Montemar* obſerving this, did not immediately ſend Succours that way, but perceiving that the Enemy crouded all their Forces to the left, in order to puſh the inclining Troops more effectually, he ordered his own left Wing to aſcend the Mountains, which by this Motion of the Enemy were left bare; when they had gain'd their point, he powerfully reinforced his right, and as ſoon as he perceived that they had repulſed the Enemy, he not only ſent a freſh Reinforcement, but alſo began to preſs forward in the Centre. The *Moors* perceiving that the left Wing of the *Spaniſh* Army were poſſeſſed of the higheſt Mountains, that their right Wing had gain'd ground, and that in the middle the Count led them on in Perſon, they began to apprehend they might be ſurrounded; upon which they threw down their Arms and fled. The Confuſion was ſo great, and the Panick ſo ſtrong, that there was no ſtopping it, either by Reaſons, Example, or Puniſhment. The Care of their Safety, and the Preſervation of their Subſtance, took up all their Thoughts; ſo that the Duke *de Ripperda*, with all his Eloquence and Authority, could not prevail any farther than to be ſet upon a Camel, that he might run away with the leſs Danger.

The

The Count *de Montemar* remained with his Army on the top of the Mountains all Night, and on the firſt of *July* marching to *Oran*, found that ſtrong Place with its five Caſtles abandon'd, and which was more extraordinary, the Magazines full of Ammunition and Proviſions, ſeveral thouſand Tents ſtanding, moſt of the Equipage belonging to their Generals, a conſiderable Sum in Ready-money, and the very Litter which the Duke *de Ripperda* uſed. They found likewiſe eighty ſeven Pieces of Braſs, and fifty one of Iron-Cannon, twelve Field-pieces, and ſeven Mortars. So that they had nothing to do but to regulate the Gariſon of the Place, and to mark out a Camp for covering it, while ſome additional Works which were thought neceſſary were raiſed.

This accidental taking of *Oran*, ſeemed to be the immediate Work of Providence, ſince it is morally certain, that the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* had furniſhed it ſo well, and put all things into ſo good a Condition, that if the Gariſon had done their Duty, they might have defended it ſeveral Weeks; in which time the extreme Heat, the Ravages of the *Moors*, and the want of Water and Proviſions would in all probability have forced the Chriſtian Army to have re-imbarked without Succeſs. Whereas by this ſudden Stroke of pannick Fear, the *Moors* loſt the Place and in the Field of Battle, a thouſand Men, among whom were ſeveral good Officers, together with their Baggage and Artillery, whereas the *Spaniards* had not above two hundred Men kill'd and wounded.

The ſame Expreſſes which carried into *Spain* the News of this extraordinary and even unexpected Succeſs, carried at the ſame time an Account of Baſhaw *Ripperda*'s Behaviour; whereupon the King of *Spain* immediately gave Orders that he ſhould be degraded from his Rank of Duke and Grandee of *Spain*, which was performed with great Solemnity,

at

at the ſame time that Thanks was returned to Heaven for the Succeſs accorded by Divine Providence to his Catholick Majeſty's Arms.

When the *Mooriſh* Army had a little recovered that Conſternation, which had ſo ſtrangely and totally poſſeſt them, they were prevailed upon to encamp according to the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Directions, who diſpoſed the ſcattered Remains of his Forces in ſuch a manner, as covered ſome part of the Country, and to prevent in ſome meaſure the Effects which the Victory gained by the *Spaniards* would otherwiſe have had. This revived the Baſhaw's drooping Spirits a little, as it ſerved alſo to eſtabliſh his Authority in the Army, where on account of his ill Succeſs it was not a little declined. He wrote alſo a Letter to the Emperor, wherein he excuſed the Affair the beſt way he could, and laid the blame on the Obſtinacy and Want of Obedience in the Soldiers. In a day or two after he had diſpatched this Letter, he received Orders to return to *Mequinez*, without delay; which Order ſtruck him with extraordinary Concern, knowing that the Emperor was very ſevere in his Puniſhments, having once ordered a Man of Quality to be ſewed up in a Horſe's Hide, with only his Head out, and ſuffering him to continue there till ſuch time as he was eat up with Maggots. Our Baſhaw therefore could not be very eaſy in his Thoughts, while upon ſuch a Journey, nor were his Fears abated on his Arrival at *Mequinez*, where the People curſed him and his Projects, in his own hearing, and imputed to the evil Influence of his Stars all the Misfortunes that had happened. He went however directly to Court, where he was introduced immediately to the Royal Preſence. After having made a profound Obeiſance, he was about to juſtify himſelf, when the Emperor addreſſed him in theſe Words: "Baſhaw *Ripperda*,

" I thought your Projects reaſonable, otherwiſe
" I had not conſented to their being put into
" execution. I am well informed of your whole
" Behaviour, and am perfectly ſatisfied therewith;
" if my Troops did not do their Duty, they ought
" to be puniſhed for it; and it would be equally
" cruel and unjuſt in me to make you anſwerable
" for it, who did all you could. Go to your Houſe,
" refreſh your ſelf, and let me ſee you at Council
" to-morrow."

At his Return to his Houſe the fair *Caſtilian* received him with open Arms; for perceiving that notwithſtanding his Change of Religion he did not pretend to keep a Seraglio, ſhe readily forgot what was paſt, and treated him with her accuſtomed Tenderneſs. But her's and his Satisfaction in this Point did not continue long. The Duke found it neceſſary to pay his Court to the Mother of the reigning Emperor, who, though a Woman much in Years, fell in love with him, and behaved with ſuch Indiſcretion, that it reached the Ears of the *Caſtilian*, whereby the Baſhaw loſt all hopes of Quiet at home and abroad. To increaſe all his Trouble, *Muly Hamet*, who had ſet up a Title to the Empire, began to renew his Courſes with a conſiderable Body of Horſe, which put the whole Empire into Confuſion, and threatned the Emperor's Life and Power. The Count *de Montemar* in the mean time puſh'd his Conqueſts, and talked of nothing leſs than beſieging *Moſtagan*; to which Place *Bigottillos* with his Troops was retired. The Care of this Expedition was committed to the Marquis of *Villadarias*, the eldeſt Lieutenant-General, and formerly a great Friend to *Ripperda*. This Gentleman began his March at the head of four thouſand Horſe and Foot, on the 24th of *June*; but having waited ſome time for the Galleys and Bomb-Veſſels, and perceiving that they

they were detained by contrary Winds, he, without ſtaying for Orders, retired back to the Camp, where the next day the Count *de Montemar* aſſembled a Council of General Officers to conſider his Conduct. To them the Marquis *de Villadarias* gave an Account of the Motives on which he acted, and of the Neceſſity he thought himſelf under of preſerving the Troops he had the honour to command. After him, the Marquis of *Santa Cruz* ſtood up, and, in a long Speech, ſupported what the Marquis *de Villadarias* had ſaid. To which the *Condé de Montemar* added, that a wiſe Retreat was more glorious than a lucky Victory; and declared, that conſidering the Climate, the Dog-Days, and the Condition of the Army, it was his Opinion, they ſhould be immediately re-imbarked for *Spain*; to which the reſt of the General Officers aſſented, and which in a few days was put in execution.

If the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* was a little relieved from his Fears by this Incident, he was quickly thrown into a new Panick, by the Emperor's receiving Advice, that *Muly Hamet* had appeared in the Neighbourhood of *Mequinez*, with ſeveral thouſand Horſe. When this was communicated to the Council, they appeared equally diſtracted and diſcouraged, as is uſual with the *Moors* in time of Danger; but for the Baſhaw *de Ripperda*, he behaved in quite another manner. "Sir, ſaid he to the Emperor, I "have no hopes but from you, no Deſires but what "centre in you, I am ready to ſacrifice my Life in "your Service, and I make no queſtion, but if "your Majeſty will give me the Command of "your Troops, I ſhall be able to give you a good "Account of this Rebel." The Emperor took him at his word, and having drawn together about nine thouſand Men, ordered *Ripperda* to march againſt the Enemy. The Baſhaw behaved on this occaſion with great Confidence, "he told the

" Troops under his Command, they had nothing " to do, but to obſerve his Orders ſtrictly, and " they might reſt aſſured of Victory." *Muly Hamet* practiſed ſeveral *Mooriſh* Stratagems, which the Regularity of *Ripperda*'s March rendered abortive; ſo that at laſt he was forced to hazard a general Engagement, wherein he was totally defeated in an hour and a half, by Dint of M. *Ripperda*'s Diſpoſition, who taking the advantage of his marching down a Hill to attack him, ſent part of his Troops round, ſo that by that time they were thoroughly engaged in the Front, *Muly Hamet* found himſelf attacked in the Flank and in the Rear; upon which, himſelf and his Army loſt their Spirits and fled precipitately. The Duke *de Ripperda* might have made a great Carnage, if he would have ſuffered his Troops to purſue them; but he was ſo far from doing this, that he told them, that it was a baſe thing to kill Men they had beaten; and Cruelty to ſhed unneceſſarily the Blood of their Countrymen. He purſued the ſame Conduct after a ſecond Victory, which being known to the Troops of *Muly Hamet*, they deſerted and left him alone.

On the Return of the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* to the Court of *Mequinez*, the Emperor not only received him with all the Marks of Gratitude and Reſpect which he could wiſh, but raiſed him likewiſe to the higheſt Dignity in the Empire, that of *Prime Miniſter* and *Chief Director* of all things, *civil* and *military*. A Promotion which would have highly offended the Subjects of the Emperor, if the Wiſdom of the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* had not ſuggeſted to him ſo artful a Conduct, that even the moſt envious and the moſt malicious knew not how to fix upon him any Reproach. He ſent for Admiral *Perez* the day after his Promotion, and as ſoon as he came into the Room, embracing him with all the Marks of Affection, " The Baſhaw *de*

" *Ripperda*,

" *Ripperda*, ſaid he, is now the ſecond Perſon in " this Empire, cloath'd with an Authority un- " known before, and, though a Subject, more a " Sovereign than many of the Princes in *Europe*. " But after all this, the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* is not " only the Slave of *Muly Abdalla*, but the Creature " of *Perez*. I owe all things, my good old Friend, " to your Recommendations, and by following " your Counſels, I hope to conſerve the Honours " which your good Offices have procured for me." In like manner he ſent for *Ali*, but more privately, and after having careſſed him in a moſt extraordinary manner, " You ſee, ſaid he, to what a height " I am riſen by your Aſſiſtance, be wiſe enough to " know that you will be always neceſſary to me, and " conſequently that I muſt be always your Friend; " be aſſiduous in the Performance of your Duty in " the Camp, and take care to inſinuate to the Sol- " diers the Uſefulneſs of that Diſcipline I endea- " vour to eſtabliſh. Preſerve the Renegades firmly " united, which is the only Method by which they " can be defended from the Envy of the *Moors*, " who, though they acknowledge them to be well " taught *Hounds*, are ſtill for uſing them like *Dogs*, " when they come from the Field." A little after he went to the Camp, attended by his Friends *Perez* and *Ali*, and was received by the General *Bigottillos*, with all imaginable Teſtimonies of profound Reſpect. The Baſhaw harangued him as he had done the reſt. " He aſſured him, that it was " not either Ambition, or a covetous Deſire of in- " joying the Appointments of a General, that had " induced him ſometimes to take the Command; " but an earneſt Deſire to render a Prince, from " whom he had received ſuch Favours, all the Ser- " vice in his power; that for this Reaſon, the Ge- " neral was not to look upon him as his Competi- " tor, but as a Man who would make it his Buſineſs

" to oblige him, and who would conſtantly ſend to " the Army whatever was neceſſary for their Sub- " ſiſtance and Conveniency." *Bigottillos* thank'd him for theſe Marks of his Favour, and told him plainly, that he ſhould find him the moſt humble of his Creatures, ſo long as he remained the ſame gracious Miniſter he now appeared.

While the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* was in the Camp, he received Advice that the *Spaniards* were making all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions not only for ſecuring a Territory about *Oran*, but alſo of making new Conqueſts in the beginning of the Spring; that with this view they were raiſing new Works, and were even bringing large Supplies of Ammunition from *Ceuta*, that all might be ready on the Arrival of the Flota from *Spain*. This obliged the Baſhaw to preſs more haſtily than otherwiſe he would have done his Correſpondents in *Ceuta*, to concert the Means of delivering up to him the Place. For the expediting this grand Affair, he made uſe of his truſty Inſtrument *St. Martin*; who having receiv'd a conſiderable Reward in Money, and a Penſion of fifty Ducats *per Annum* for his laſt Service, readily undertook this new and dangerous Attempt of getting into *Ceuta*, and delivering there the Letters with which the Infidel his Maſter thought fit to charge him. The Method he choſe for executing this Deſign was, to pretend himſelf a Deſerter from the Army of the *Moors*, and as ſuch, he was readily admitted into the Fortreſs; but as the Governour was remarkably vigilant, he was ſoon informed, that this pretended Deſerter behaved in a myſterious manner, upon which he was arreſted and examined, but would confeſs nothing. Whereupon Orders were given for putting him to the Torture; but when he ſaw the Inſtruments which were to be uſed for that purpoſe, he fell into a great Agony, and confeſſed immediately all that he knew, *viz.*

That

That he was a Domeſtick of the Baſhaw *de Ripperda*, that he had two Letters, and three hundred Ducats, which he was to deliver to a certain Man, who was to have aſked for them at a certain Gate, to which he was going, when he was taken up. After this Diſcovery, which however did not reach the Perſons concerned, the Duke's Letters being without Direction; the Governour ordered *St. Martin* to be tranſported to *Spain*, and delivered up to the Officers of the Inquiſition, becauſe he had renounced the Chriſtian Faith and was circumciſed.

The News of this Accident, which the Duke *de Ripperda* did not receive till ſome time after it had happened, by the means of two *French* Deſerters, fill'd him with infinite Concern; becauſe he not only loſt *St. Martin*, who was both a faithful and a uſeful Servant, but had likewiſe his whole Scheme diſcovered, and of courſe (tho' his Correſpondents were not detected) rendered abortive. But the fair *Caſtilian* was much more affected; ſhe had converſed ſo many Years with *St. Martin*, and notwithſtanding his Follies and Vices, which were pretty numerous, had ſuch a Regard and innocent Affection for him, that ſhe could not help bewailing his Misfortune with Tears, and even reproached the Baſhaw, when he returned to *Mequinez*, for his Inſenſibility on this head, and for his apparent want of Gratitude for expoſing ſuch a Man to ſuch a Fate. To this the Baſhaw very coolly reply'd, "Madam, I am very far from cenſuring that Pity "in you, which becomes your Sex, and the Prin- "ciples upon which you act. Neither am I ſur- "prized at your cenſuring my Conduct; which "however I fancy you will not think altogether ſo "unreaſonable, when you remember that I am not "wont to ſpare myſelf in times of Danger, but ful- "fil punctually what I owe to my Character, at "the hazard of my Life. *St. Martin* might have

" refuſed this Commiſſion, if he had ſo pleaſed;
" but he was willing to run a great Hazard for a
" great Reward, and his Hopes have deceived
" him. Is there any thing of Prodigy in this?
" Or am I accountable for it, if there was? Be
" wiſer another time, and either ſubmit patiently
" to the Deciſions of Providence, or reflect on the
" Inability of your Sex to judge of the Actions of
" Men." To ſay the truth, M. *de Ripperda* had things of greater Importance to think of, than the Death of his unhappy Servant; he had always piqued himſelf on taking *Ceuta*, and that Deſign having thus miſcarried, he had juſt reaſon to be apprehenſive of the Emperor's Diſpleaſure, or at leaſt the loſs of ſome part of that Intereſt he had hitherto in him, which he knew without Succeſs could not be well preſerved.

Upon his firſt going to Court, he addreſſed himſelf to his Protectreſs the Queen-Mother, who diſpell'd his Fears, by aſſuring him ſhe had kept her Son ſteady to his Intereſt, and that he might depend upon as gracious a Reception as ever. Accordingly when he went to pay his Compliments to the Emperor, *Muly Abdalla* commended his Behaviour, received his Propoſals with Applauſe, and gave him the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of his Favour, only he recommended it to him not to remain long at *Mequinez*, but to return to the Army, and by harraſſing the Chriſtians in *Oran*, to hinder them from executing their favourite Deſign of annexing a conſiderable Territory to this their new Conqueſt. The Baſhaw, to demonſtrate his Zeal and Affection for the Emperor's Service, left *Mequinez* in three days, tho' he was but in a very indifferent State of Health, and felt all the approaching Symptoms of a Fit of the Gout, which could not but incommode him more in a Camp, than in any other Place.

On

On his Return to the Army, he publiſhed a ſort of Manifeſto or Proclamation, containing certain ſevere Rules of Diſcipline, and declaring that he would puniſh with immediate Death any Officer, let his Rank be what it would, who ſhould preſume to heſitate on the Receipt of his Orders. This ſtruck the *Moors* with Amazement, and for ſeveral days all the Officers of the Army were in the utmoſt Terrour and Confuſion. But the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* converſing with them as familiarly as ever, making no new Regulations, and aſſuring them frequently, that he had no other Deſign but to maintain that Diſcipline, which was neceſſary for their own ſafety; they began to reſume their Spirits, and even to eſteem that General, whom they had lately looked on with Averſion. As to the Soldiers, the Baſhaw did not take pains to keep any ſuch Meaſures with them; on the contrary, he ſet up Gallows's all round his Camp, and loaded them plentifully with ſuch as were guilty of plundering, defrauding, or inſulting the Country People. By this Method he quite changed the face of things, and eſtabliſhed ſuch an Order in the *Mooriſh* Camp, as aſtoniſhed all who beheld it. He viſited the advanced Poſts every day in Perſon, though by reaſon of the Gout he was ſet on Horſeback, and taken off like a Child. About his Perſon, he had continually a Guard of twenty *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch* Renegades, all Men of determined Courage, and ſo attached to him, that they would every one of them have died to preſerve him. With theſe, and the beſt of the *Mooriſh* Cavalry, he frequently drove the *Spaniſh* Detachments to the Gates of *Oran*. Once however falling in the way of three hundred *Spaniſh* Horſe, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel, after a briſk Diſpute, in which ſixty-eight *Moors* were killed, the Baſhaw had his Horſe ſhot under him, and was in the utmoſt Danger of being

being made Priſoner. One of his Guards however threw him acroſs his Horſe, and with much ado brought him off, to the great Joy of the Infidels, who, in all probability, would have diſperſed, had he been either kill'd or taken. But tho' by this Method of managing the military Forces of the Empire of *Morocco*, Baſhaw *Ripperda* made it more conſiderable than it had ever been; and tho' he prevented the *Spaniards* from making that uſe of *Oran* which they intended, yet ſo clear-ſighted a Man as he was could not help perceiving, that all he had done would not fully anſwer his purpoſe, becauſe after all, *Ceuta* was not taken, *Oran* was unrecovered, and his own Army, though it was better diſciplined, decreaſed daily both by Death and Deſertion. He therefore reſolved to return once more to *Mequinez*, there to propoſe ſome new Expedients, which he hoped might rectify all that was amiſs, and enable him to perform the mighty Promiſes he had made *Muly Abdalla*, and the great Hopes the *Moors* themſelves had formed of his reſtoring their ancient Reputation. With this view, he committed the Care of all things to *Bigottillos*, leaving with him two Cautions; one of which was, not to relax the ſmalleſt Point of Diſcipline; the other, never to leave the Gariſon at *Oran* in quiet. This done, he ſet out with *Ali* for the Emperor's Court under a good Eſcort of Horſe.

When the Baſhaw arrived at *Mequinez*, he gave the Emperor a very favourable Account of his Troops; he informed him, that they began to improve extremely in their Diſcipline, and that he made no queſtion, but that his Army would become as good and as regular, as that of any Prince in the World. But for the quicker Accompliſhment of his Majeſty's Deſigns, it would be of great Importance to negotiate a new Treaty with the States of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoly*, that they might furniſh Ships of

of War and Tranſports, on any occaſion his Majeſty might have to make uſe of them; he further adviſed, that moderate Terms ſhould be immediately offered to the free *Moors*, who at this time were in Arms againſt the Emperor, and who were allowed to be the beſt Soldiers in *Barbary*, and who, in caſe they could be brought to enter into his Service, would conſiderably increaſe the Army before *Ceuta*, not only by their numbers, but by the Reputation of their Courage and martial Atchievements. *Muly Abdalla* liſtened to both the Propoſals, and in a few days the Officer he ſent to the General of the free *Moors*, with his own and the Baſhaw *de Ripperda*'s Letters, returned with the agreeable News, that the Offers he made were readily accepted, and that he had ſeen them on full March to *Ceuta*. The Baſhaw did not remain long after receiving this Advice at *Mequinez*, but made haſte to join the Army, in hopes that now he ſhould find it in a Condition capable of executing his utmoſt Vengeance on the *Spaniards*. He found them about two Leagues diſtant from *Ceuta*, and was informed at the ſame time, that the Gariſon of that Place, being ſtrongly reinforced, were marched out into the Field. The Baſhaw, charmed at this News, made a long Diſcourſe to the Army, wherein having firſt expoſed the tyrannical Fury of the *Spaniards*, the Injuries they had done their Anceſtors, and their preſent Deſign to ſubdue *Barbary*, and reduce them All to the wretched Condition of Slaves; or which was worſe, of being *Chriſtian Dogs*, (as to gratify this People he called 'em) he exhorted them to follow his Example, who was then about to lead them againſt their Enemies and his own. The *Moors* were ſo tranſported by his inflaming Eloquence, that they expreſſed their Rage, like Beaſts, by loud Cries and horrid Noiſes. The Baſhaw however knew what they meant; and while they

they were in this Situation drew them up in Order of Battle, and marched immediately to meet the *Spaniſh* Forces.

The Engagement was long and bloody, the Infidels, contrary to their wonted Cuſtom, fighting boldly hand to hand, and rallying three or four times, which they had never done before. The Duke, during the whole Action, not only expoſed his Perſon as much as any private Man, but rode to each ſeparate Corps, exhorted, encouraged, charged with and rallied them, till at length, after prodigious Efforts, the *Spaniards* were totally defeated, and were forced to retire in great Confuſion towards *Ceuta*; the Cavalry, under the Command of the eldeſt Son of *Bigottillos* had them in Chace all the way, and cut the greateſt part of them to pieces, entering the Out-works with them; ſo that the Gariſon were obliged to ſhut out many of the Fugitives to prevent the Infidels from entering the Place. At their return to the Camp, Baſhaw *Ripperda* made a ſort of a triumphal Oration, by which he puſhed the Madneſs of his Army to ſuch a height, that there ſeemed not to be a Man amongſt them, who had any longer Regard for Self-preſervation; his Officers in the mean time ſcatter'd ſuch extravagant Accounts of his Behaviour in the late Battle, that, on the one hand, the Emperor ſent him a rich Veſt, with this ſhort Meſſage, *That he ſhould proceed, ſince to exceed was no longer poſſible.* On the other hand, ſome Perſons of Diſtinction who had always attended *Muly Hamet*, and were now with him in the diſtant Kingdom of *Taffilet*, left him, and by forced Marches reached the Camp of the Baſhaw *Ripperda*, to whom they declared they were come to die under his Command, againſt the Enemies of their Country. To which the Baſhaw anſwered civilly, Not to die, my Friends, but, by the Bleſſing of God, to conquer. Theſe Accidents

encouraged

encouraged this haughty and ambitious Man to open the Siege of *Ceuta* in form, at the ſame time that upwards of thirty thouſand Men were ſent under the Command of *Ali*, to aſſiſt in making the Siege of *Oran*.

In order to carry his Deſign into execution, the Baſhaw drew his Forces nearer to the City and Fortreſs of *Ceuta*, and when he was at a convenient Diſtance, began to break ground. While he was thus employed, two Chriſtian Spies got into the Camp, and ſpread a Report, that a great Flota was arrived from *Spain*, and that very ſpeedily the *Moors* would be block'd up in their Intrenchments. The Army appearing to be much affected at this News, and betraying ſome Signs of Fear, the Baſhaw gave Order, that the Infantry ſhould remain in the Lines, while himſelf at the head of the Cavalry marched and faced the Enemy. But finding by this March, that this Report was only an Artifice of the Governor's, to hinder his carrying on his Works, he, on his Return, ordered both the Chriſtian Deſerters to be impaled upon one Stake; a Cruelty unknown even to the *Barbarians*, and which ſtruck all who beheld it with Horrour. But it was not long before he was ſeverely puniſhed for this Act of Inhumanity.

Two Chriſtian Slaves, who were preſent at this Execution, afflicted at the Fate of their Brethren, firmly reſolved to revenge it. With this Intention they took, as they had an Opportunity, a full View of the Diſpoſitions of the Infidels, and when they had ſo done, they in the Night travelled, loaded with Chains as they were, towards *Ceuta*; happily for them they were not miſſed till Morning, abont which time they fell in with a *Spaniſh* Piquet, and by them were carried into the Town. They were immediately conducted to the Governor, to whom they gave an Account, that the *Moors* were in ſuch high

high Spirits, ſince the laſt Action, that the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* could not oblige them to take the Precautions that he thought neceſſary; ſo that they lay ſtragling along the Line, their advanced Guards being at a great diſtance from the head Quarters. This being exactly conformable to other Advices that he had received, the Governor called a Council of War, in which he propoſed making a general Sally, in order to diſable the Enemy from carrying on the Siege. This Propoſition was received with general Approbation, and was executed the next Morning before it was Day, by five Detachments commanded by *Don Joſeph Aramburo*, *Count Mahoni*, and ſeveral other Officers of Diſtinction, to the number of ſix thouſand Men, excluſive of five hundred Pioneers. This Affair was ſo well conducted, that the *Moors* were driven out of the Trenches, the Trenches themſelves fill'd up, the Cannon nail'd, the head Quarters plundered, and the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* forced to fly in his Shirt on horſeback to *Tetuan*, the greateſt part of his Infantry being cut to pieces. The *Mooriſh* Cavalry behaved quite in another manner, they formed in the Plain behind their Works, charged the Enemy vigorouſly, gave time to ſome Corps of Foot to form behind them, who afterwards returned to their Poſts; ſo that after ſeven hours Fight, the *Spaniſh* Troops retired into the Place with a great Booty, ſeveral Standards, and other Trophies of Honour.

As it is no eaſy matter to be long on good Terms with the Multitude, ſo the Army took occaſion from the Accident which had befallen the Baſhaw *de Ripperda*, to deſpiſe his Authority, and to declare poſitively that he ſhould not return to his Command; of which when he received Advice, it threw him into a deep Melancholy, from an Apprehenſion, that the Emperor, on the firſt News

of

of it, would give him up in order to pacify his Troops. However, that he might not be wanting to himſelf, he wrote to his great Protectreſs, and to her Son at the ſame time, excuſing in the beſt manner poſſible, what had happened, and throwing the whole Weight of theſe Diſorders and ill Succeſs on the mutinous Diſpoſition of the *Mooriſh* Army, concluding with vehement Proteſtations of his own Integrity, with ſome Hints of his former Zeal and good Fortune. The Emperor, on the Receipt of theſe Letters, was not a little embaraſſed. On the one hand, he deſired to protect the Duke *de Ripperda*; on the other, he was afraid of diſobliging ſo numerous a Body of Troops. But his Mother, who had ſuch an Aſcendency over him, that ſhe was able to perſuade him to what ſhe pleaſed, exerted in favour of *Ripperda* all her Eloquence. "Son, ſaid ſhe, it is not his, but your "Authority, which the *Moors* deſpiſe; the Dan-"ger is yet at a diſtance, reſtore him to his Com-"mand, and he will preſerve you upon the Throne, "from which otherwiſe theſe Rebels will quickly "drive you, to place thereon *Muly Hamet*, whoſe "ſecret Adherents they are." The Council, who were about the Emperor, joined with his Mother, whether out of that mean Complaiſance, which is the Mode in moſt Courts, or from an Opinion, that her Advice ſuited beſt with their kind of Government, I pretend not to determine. However, amongſt them, they blew the Emperor into ſuch a Fit of Rage and Fury, that he reſolved to go in Perſon to the Army, and there to ſacrifice all things to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Baſhaw. What a Field is here for a Man verſed in Politicks to deſcant on? For my part, the little I have of this ſort of Knowledge has taught me, that the Ways of ſome Kings are inſcrutable, and the Ways of others not worthy of being ſearched.

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The King, followed by the whole Court, and by his Council, at the head of which was Admiral *Perez*, who, on this occaſion, ſtuck faſt by his Friend, ſet out from *Mequinez* for the Camp before *Ceuta*, leaving the City under the Protection of a ſtrong Gariſon, and under the Government of the old Queen. But they were ſcarce departed, before *Mequinez* was all in an Uproar; the People ran together in Crouds, curſing the Queen-Mother, the *Dutch* Baſhaw, and all their Adherents. The chief Burghers of the Place might eaſily have calmed this Tumult if they would, but they moſt unaccountably did all they could to increaſe it; inſomuch, that at laſt the People aſſembled by thouſands about the Palace; and though they did not break into it, yet by loud Cries, and by the moſt impudent Threats, they terrified to the laſt degree all who were therein. As for the Queen-Mother, ſhe hid herſelf in the Garden; where, by the Coolneſs of the Night-Air and the Dew, ſhe got her Death. For, two hours after ſhe was found and brought into the Palace by one of her faithful Eunuchs, ſhe expired in Convulſions, after having expreſſed herſelf to thoſe about her in theſe Terms: "Tell the Emperor "*Muly Abdalla*, my Son, that his Mother regret-"ted but two things at her Death. That ſhe had "not the Comfort of ſeeing him, or of recommend-"ing to him the illuſtrious *Ripperda*; tell him how-"ever, that dying I commend him to Providence, "and that brave Man to his Care." When it was known in the City that ſhe was dead, every Man kept cloſe in his Houſe, and all the Inhabitants were ſtruck with the utmoſt Terror; and well they might. For though *Muly Abdalla* was a Prince of great Juſtice, and not at all inclined to Blood in peaceable times; yet in ſuch Confuſions as theſe, when his Crown and Life were alike ſtruck at, he

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was too apt to exceed in Severity all who had reigned before him.

The Preſence of the Emperor effected in the Camp all that could be expected from it, the Army returned to its Duty, and received with all Marks of ſubmiſſion the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* for their General. In all probability, he would have puniſhed ſome of thoſe who were moſt culpable, in the late Tranſactions, if the News of his Mother's Death had not arrived, and determined his immediate Return to *Mequinez*. He did ſo, and the Inhabitants, with that meanneſs natural to an enſlaved People, crouded the Streets to look upon him, and teſtified by thundering Acclamations their Joy at his Preſence. This Diſſimulation, far from pacifying the Emperor, provoked him ſo much the more, he knew not what to truſt to among ſo mutable a People, and therefore reſolved to ſhew them what they had to truſt to in him. Some of the principal Inhabitants in the City, he cauſed to be ſeized and ſtrangled immediately in his Preſence. He intended to treat in the ſame manner the principal Officers of his Mother's Guards; but he was diſſuaded by Admiral *Perez*, who adviſed to ſend firſt for a Reinforcement of Troops from the Army, before he provoked ſo dangerous a People any farther. The Emperor eaſily diſcerned the Rectitude of this Advice, and therefore followed it, diſpatching a Letter the next day to the Baſhaw *Ripperda*, with Orders to ſend on the Receipt thereof 700 Men to *Mequinez*, under the Command of a faithful and experienced Officer, in order to reinforce the Gariſon, which he readily and punctually performed, knowing how much it imported himſelf to preſerve the Emperor in Safety.

On the Approach of this Detachment, the whole City of *Mequinez* was terribly alarmed. Its Inhabitants conceived eaſily, that the Emperor had in view the revenging the Death of his Mother, and this ſtruck them with ſuch Apprehenſions, that pre-

ſently the Shops were ſhut, and moſt of the principal Houſes abandoned; however, few of the chief Citizens ſaved their Lives. The Gariſon had Orders to ſeize all who attempted to go out, and the Detachment ſecured ſuch as they met with in their March. As ſoon as theſe Troops arrived from the Camp, they relieved the old Gariſon in all their Poſts, and then the Carnage began. The chief Officers of the Guards were ſtrangled in the Emperor's ſight; as for the private Men of the Gariſon, they eſcaped with each of them a ſevere *Baſtinado*; after which, they were condemned to work in the ſame manner with Chriſtian Slaves.

As for the Citizens ſeized in the Place, or endeavouring to eſcape, they too were condemned by the Emperor to various cruel Deaths, and were executed without mercy; ſuch Chriſtians as were among them became Food for the Lions in the Emperor's Parks. The People in the adjacent Provinces look'd with Aſtoniſhment on theſe bloody Tranſactions, and either out of horrour at what they beheld, or from a Principle of Self-Preſervation, they took Arms; and that they might not be without a Chief, they declared for *Muly Hamet*, the old Competitor againſt *Abdalla*, who received them with open Arms, and quickly put himſelf at their head, which rendered them extreamly formidable to the Emperor, who ſtood now much in need of that Courage which he really had, notwithſtanding he rarely ſhewed it; though it muſt be allow'd, at this juncture, he exerted himſelf very properly.

The firſt Step he took, was to give Baſhaw *Ripperda* Notice of this Accident, and to demand of him a Body of Forces, ſufficient to look the Enemy in the face. Our Stateſman, who had but an indifferent Opinion of all things, which did not incommode or aggrandize himſelf, would willingly have reſolved this into meer Apprehenſion. But not daring, in ſuch an Empire, to do this, he ſent

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the *Baſhaw* of *Taxar* with ſome pick'd Troops to the Emperor's Aſſiſtance. This Baſhaw was one of *Ripperda*'s chief Favourites. A Man brave in Battle, brutal in Behaviour, one who had ſtudied War thoroughly, and who had probably never ſtudied ſo hard, if he had not ſpent his Patrimony, and taken up Fighting for a Living. The Employment he had was not very conſiderable, but the Recommendation he brought from Baſhaw *Ripperda*, wrought effectually in his favour at Court; ſo that the Emperor received him moſt graciouſly, and treated him with the utmoſt Confidence. The Baſhaw, pleaſed with theſe Marks of Diſtinction, exerted himſelf briſkly in compleating his Levies, ſo that they were inſtantly finiſhed, and himſelf ready to take the Field, with three thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe.

The Army of *Muly Hamet* was far more numerous. That Prince was brave, enterprizing, and, for the preſent, much in the good Graces of the People. In this Situation, the Baſhaw of *Taxar* march'd out of *Mequinez*, and advanced towards the Enemy, meerly to encourage the Emperor's Party, and to awe the Malecontents, knowing well, that without the Appearance of Force, Duty was not to be expected in *Barbary*. He had not marched far from that City before he received Advice, that in a Town two Miles diſtant, ſome thouſands of the Enemy had taken poſt, and that at a ſmall diſtance behind them lay *Muly-Hamet*, and all his Army. The Baſhaw perceiving the Danger he was in, and the vaſt Advantage the Rebels had over him, reſolved to try whether Stratagem might not effect what was not to be hoped for by force. The Stratagem he formed was this:

He went in Perſon to take a View of the Town the Enemy poſſeſs'd, and perceiving that it had a Mountain before it, and a thick Wood to the Right, he ordered all his Cavalry under the Command of a

Catalonian Renegado to march inſtantly, and take poſt behind the Wood; at the ſame time he order'd his Infantry to march to the Foot of the Mountain, and there to lie on their Arms till farther Orders. This being done with ſix hundred choſen Men, he advanced to the Entrance of the Town, where he ſtop'd ſhort, and began to intrench diligently, as afraid of being attacked. By this means he hoped to draw the Enemy out of the Town into the Field, where he ſhould be better able to deal with them, his Cavalry being ready to attack them in the Flank and Rear, at the ſame time his Infantry from behind the Mountain join'd him and charged in Front.

The thing fell out exactly as he had foreſeen. The Enemy believing the Baſhaw's whole Army was there, attacked them vigorouſly before they were well encamped; and after a ſlight Reſiſtance, the Baſhaw retired in the beſt order he could towards the Mountain. Upon this ſuppoſed Flight, all the Troops in the Town iſſued out in purſuit. But when they came near the Mountain, the Baſhaw drawing his Men into a Line, cry'd out in a Fury, *Advance, my Friends, theſe Dogs are devoted to Deſtruction.* His ſmall Detachment at theſe Words recovered their Spirits, and charged like Madmen. The Groſs of the Baſhaw's Infantry drew on both ſides from behind the Mountain, and the Cavalry charging in the ſame Inſtant the Enemy in the Rear, they were quickly defeated, and the Baſhaw having forbid Quarter, were in a manner all put to the Sword, and the Town was likewiſe taken, ſack'd, and burnt.

On the News of this fatal Accident, the Army of *Muly Hamet*, like true *Moors*, deſerted him and left him with a few faithful Friends and Domeſticks, to make his Eſcape to the Mountains to ſave his Life. As ſoon as he was gone, the Baſhaw, Commandant of the Emperor's Forces, believing that

that a ruin'd People would find ſomething elſe to do than to rebel, not only plundered all the Country round about, but burn'd and deſtroyed it in ſuch a manner, that there was no poſſibility of finding Food or Forage even for the miſerable People, and the few Cattle he left behind him. On his Return to *Mequinez*, he was received by the Emperor with Tranſports of Joy; but as for the Inhabitants, though they pretended to ſympathize with their Maſters, yet they did it but aukwardly, and could not help ſhewing ſome ſigns of Sorrow and Diſcontent.

One would have thought this News would have been more agreeable to the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* than to any Man elſe; but it happened quite otherwiſe. The Apprehenſiion of loſing the Emperor's Favour haunted him continually, and perſuaded him that every Man, who was in a Capacity of diſputing with him the Friendſhip of that Monarch muſt be his Rival, and capital Enemy of courſe. Many ways he conſidered for defeating the Deſigns of the Baſhaw of *Taxar*, who, in all probability, never formed any againſt him; at laſt he thought of one more moderate and more effectual than the reſt. It was this; he determined to reſign, with the Emperor's leave, the Command of the Army, and to name for his Succeſſor a Perſon, who might cover him from the Rage of his Enemies, and even from that of the Baſhaw of *Taxar*, if he was ſo already, or ſhould in proceſs of Time become ſo. With this view he wrote a Letter to the Emperor, wherein he repreſented to him, that his Age and Infirmities made it impoſſible for him to execute with that Alacrity and Diligence his Office of General in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces, and therefore deſired his Permiſſion to lay down his Command, that the Soldiers might be under that of a younger Perſon, who might not only iſſue his Orders, but teach them to execute them exactly by his example. The Emperor, who was really as much in his Intereſt as

ever, and not the leſs ſo for having the Baſhaw of *Taxar* about his Perſon, readily yielded to his Advice, and gave him, as the Baſhaw foreſaw he would, leave to name his Succeſſor; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that all things ſhould be directed by his Counſels, and that in reſpect to any Proviſions, Ammunition, and Quarters of the Army, they were to depend upon him as much as before. The Baſhaw publiſhed theſe Orders at the Head of the Army the Evening of the ſame day he received them, and the next Morning declared the Renegade *Ali* General in Chief in his ſtead. This was one of the wiſeſt Steps he ever took, ſince it effectually ſecured to him the Affection of the new General, and of the Army; the former knew he owed his Advancement entirely to the Baſhaw *Ripperda*'s Choice; and the latter were extremely well pleaſed to ſee an Officer promoted to the ſupreme Command, who made it the buſineſs of his Life to provide all Neceſſaries, and all Conveniencies for the Soldiers. Thus the Army was ſettled entirely to his Satisfaction.

It may not be amiſs to remark here the very great Folly of committing Armies, Treaſury, Fleets, Councils, all to one Man's care. If that Man be unequal to the charge, the Sovereign is apparently in danger from his want of Capacity. On the other hand, if he be equal to ſuch a charge, no Sovereign can be ſafe from ſuch a Capacity.

The regulating Matters at Court gave the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* more trouble, as they required a great deal more Circumſpection; he found however a Method of managing all things about the Emperor, which had eſcaped the Penetration of all his Predeceſſors. That Method was this: He had for a Spy every Jew in *Mequinez*, and he found Ways and Means to introduce the Jews every where. He made uſe of them as his Brokers in purchaſing Goods;

Goods; as his Agents, in remitting Money; as his Factors, in all foreign Countries; and as the Managers of his Concerns at Court; by this means he made his Intereſt theirs, he delivered them in a great meaſure from that Terrour under which they had hitherto lived, he was equally firm and punctual in all things which he promiſed them; and to their great Intereſt, which was everlaſtingly employed for the promoting of his Service, the Baſhaw was indebted for the Continuance of his Power after the Death of the Queen-Mother, and his quitting the Command in the Army. I know it will ſeem not a little ſtrange to the inquiſitive Reader, that after having repreſented the *Jews* as the moſt deſpicable People in this extenſive Empire, I ſhould now come and ſay, that they in a manner directed all things. In order to explain this, I need only obſerve, that Paraſites, Pimps, and Proſtitutes are, of all others, the moſt deſpicable ſort of People every where, and yet theſe too frequently have govern'd great Kingdoms; or, which is much the ſame thing, have influenced ſuch as governed them in all their Actions. There is therefore no Abſurdity in my ſaying, that the *Jews* were deſpicable in the eyes of the Inhabitants of *Morocco* and *Fez*, and at the ſame time affirming, that they managed all things, as they were fit Tools for an able and enterprizing Miniſter, who knowing well the Force of their inſinuating Temper, ſpared neither Care nor Expence to make his Praiſes the principal Object of their Inſinuations, which with the Great preſerved to him the Reputation of a wiſe and intrepid Stateſman, and procured him amongſt the common People the Character of an eaſy, compaſſionate, and well-condition'd Man.

The Army of the *Moors* being increaſed to fifty thouſand Men towards the end of the Summer *One thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-two*, they in-

veſted *Oran*; that is to ſay, a Corps of Troops under the Command of *Bigottillos* beſieged the Caſtle of *Santa Cruz*, and another Corps of Troops under the Command of the Son of the late *Dey* of *Algiers*, lay encamped on the ſide of a Mountain over-againſt the Caſtle to cover the Siege, while *Ali* with his Forces lay ſtill at a greater diſtance, in order to ſupport both Armies, as there ſhould be Occaſion, and to ſuccour either if it ſhould be attack'd. As *Bigottillos* was formerly Governour of *Oran*, he preſſed the Siege with all imaginable Vigilance; inſomuch, that by the latter end of the Month of *September*, he had reduced the Caſtle of *Santa Cruz* to great Extremities, and was actually preparing to ſtorm it. The Marquis *de Santa Cruz*, who commanded in *Oran*, perceiving the neceſſity there was of hazarding all things for the Relief of that Place, committed the Care of this important Enterprize to Sir *Charles Wogan*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman, who was a Colonel in the *Spaniſh* Service. In the Morning before he marched out with his Detachment, the Marquis *de Santa Cruz* brought all the Artillery of the Place to bear upon the Retrenchments thrown up by the Troops, under the Command of the Son of the *Dey* of *Algiers*, and made ſuch other Diſpoſitions as engaged the *Dey* to ſend for ſtrong Reinforcements from *Bigottillos*. As ſoon as the *Spaniards* perceived the *Moors* in full March on this ſide, Colonel *Wogan* marched out with his Detachment, which he drew into Order of Battle, ſo as to cover the Edge of a deep Valley, where the *Moors* lay generally in Ambuſcade. This Diſpoſition diſtracted the *Moors* more than the other, *Bigottillos* recall'd his Troops; but before they returned, the Head of the Convoy of Ammunition and Proviſions was actually entering the Fort of *Santa Cruz*, under the Fire of their Batteries, which was ſo warm from the Proſpect of their being well ſupply'd, that the

Moors

Moors durſt not diſturb them. *Bigottillos* however drew immediately a great Body of Troops into the Valley, with an intent to have cut off the Retreat of the Convoy, or at leaſt to have obliged the Detachment which eſcorted it to fight upon very unequal Terms. Colonel *Wogan* penetrating his Deſign, ordered two Companies of Grenadiers to poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſs through which the Enemy were to paſs, in order to cut off the Convoy. This they performed ſo happily, that the *Moors* were obliged to retire, and to regain their Batteries, from whence they fired with ſuch effect, that a *Spaniſh* Officer was killed by a Cannon-ſhot, another wounded, and Colonel *Wogan* ſo covered with Duſt, that he could hardly ſee. By nine in the Morning the Convoy had ſet out again from the Caſtle of *Santa Cruz*, and Colonel *Wogan* began his Retreat. In order to this, the Cavalry of the Detachment was ordered to make a Front towards the Sea, to cover ſix Companies of Grenadiers, who were poſted under the Rock of *Santa Cruz*, three Companies being to return to that Caſtle, and the other three to that of *Oran*. But while Colonel *Wogan* paſſed to and fro in giving his Orders, he unluckily received a Muſket-ſhot, which diſabled him ſo, that he was forced to quit the Field, and leave the Command to the Marquis *de Turbilly* his Lieutenant-Colonel. This unlucky Accident, either made the Horſe forget the Commands they had received, or elſe they had them repeated in ſuch a manner as they miſunderſtood; ſo that defiling too ſoon, they left the ſix Companies of Grenadiers abſolutely uncovered; of which the Enemy taking advantage, they were very rudely treated, and obliged to retire in great Confuſion. This however was nothing comparable to the Loſs of the *Moors*, which fell little ſhort of two thouſand Men, among whom were nineteen Officers of Diſtinction, and one of the

the Sons of *Bigottillos*. There being now no longer any hopes of reducing the Fort of *Santa Cruz*, the *Moors*, in all probability, would have raiſed the Siege, if their Spirits had not been elevated by the Arrival of the Fleet from *Algiers*, which was the largeſt that piratical State had ever fitted out: It conſiſted of twelve Men of War of the Line, the Admiral carrying ſixty-ſix Pieces of Cannon, four large Saicks, ſeven Galliots, and near five thouſand Men. A mighty Force this, from which great things were expected, and which notwithſtanding performed little or nothing.

The News of this Armament of *Algiers* awaken'd the *Spaniſh* Court, which hitherto had not ſhewn a proper Regard to the repeated Inſtances of the Marquis *de Santa Cruz*; the Terrour of ſeeing this new Conqueſt loſt, which had coſt the Crown of *Spain* ſuch immenſe Sums, obliged the Miniſtry to make a very extraordinary Effort. They immediately ordered ſuch Troops as were neareſt to the Sea-Coaſts to embark at *Alicant*, where by laying an Embargo on the Veſſels of all Nations, they found Tranſports ſufficient for their purpoſe. This Convoy was eſcorted by ſeven *Spaniſh* Men of War and three Ships of *Malta*. The *Algerine* Squadron having notice of their Departure from *Spain*, and being informed, that ſeveral Veſſels bore *Malteſe* Colours, they were ſtruck with ſuch a Panick, that they retired after debarking about two thouſand five hundred *Turks* and Renegades, who immediately marched to the Camp of the *Moors*. If they had not made this precipitate Retreat, they might in all probability have done the *Spaniards* a great deal of Miſchief; for the Weather growing very tempeſtuous, the Tranſports were ſeparated from their Convoy, and arrived by degrees at *Oran*, where they went on ſhore on the 20th of *November* 1732. They were muſter'd with the Gariſon the ſame Evening,

and

and the Marquis *de Santa Cruz* advancing to the Front of the *Walloon* Guards, made them this ſhort Speech: "Gentlemen, the King my Maſter ſent you "to be Witneſſes of the raiſing the Siege of *Oran*, and "by the Grace of God you ſhall ſee it very quickly "done." After this Review, he held a Council of War, wherein he acquainted the General Officers, that though the *Mooriſh* Army was very numerous, yet their Fire-Arms were in a very bad Condition, and their Engineers very unfit for the Office they had undertaken; he therefore propoſed the attacking them the next Morning in their Trenches, by which means they muſt neceſſarily ſurprize them, ſince they could not but ſuppoſe a Day's Reſt neceſſary for the Refreſhment of the Troops, after their extraordinary Fatigue at Sea. The Council unanimouſly approved this Plan, and Orders being inſtantly given for putting it into execution, all things were ſo diſpoſed, that before it was light the Troops were under Arms.

About ſeven in the Morning, on the 21ſt of *November*, the Marquis *de Santa Cruz* marched out of *Oran* at the head of eight thouſand Men. He had prepared the Scheme of the Attack long before, and the Diſpoſitions he made were ſo judicious, that though the Enemy were five to one, yet after a vigorous Attack, which laſted five hours, the *Spaniards* forced the Retrenchments every where, made themſelves Maſters of their Cannon, ſome of which they carried off, nail'd others, and threw the reſt down Precipices; they likewiſe burnt their Tents, blew up their Magazines, and were buſy in plundering their Baggage; when, on a ſudden, the Baſhaw *Ali*, having with much ado rallied his Forces, attempted to repoſſeſs himſelf of his Camp. The *Spaniards*, deſirous of keeping what they had got, and elate with Victory, made a moſt obſtinate Reſiſtance; but were at laſt put into confuſion, and obliged

obliged to fly, eſpecially the Cavalry, whereby the Foot of courſe would have been left to the Mercy of the Enemy, that is, to be cut to pieces. The Marquis *de Santa Cruz*, who hitherto had not expoſed his Perſon, accompanied by ſome Officers, put himſelf at the head of a Squadron of Dragoons, and marching to the left, formed the flying Cavalry in a Valley as faſt as they arrived. Having drawn together a conſiderable Body, and left his Orders with ſome Officers who remained upon the ſpot, he went to charge the *Moors* in the Flank, who were on the very point of forcing his Infantry. He was ſo fortunate as to perform what he wiſhed for in this Encounter; that is, he diſconcerted the *Moors*, gave the *Spaniſh* Cavalry time to form and to rejoin their Foot, ſo that they made a good Retreat; but in the mean time himſelf being overborn by numbers, fell grievouſly wounded from his Horſe, and was taken Priſoner. The *Moors* who were neareſt him ſtript him immediately of the Enſigns he wore of his military Orders, of his Gold Watch and Diamond Ring, and then fell to quarrelling about his Perſon. At laſt, one of them ſuggeſting, that their General would certainly oblige them to reſtore to this Officer, whoever he was, the things they had taken from him; to prevent this, they cut off his Head, and chop'd his Body all to pieces. A Barbarity worthy of the Actors, and ignominious to Mankind.

Thus fell the Marquis *de Santa Cruz* in the Flower of his Age, which was not above fifty, after having merited the Reputation of one of the ableſt Stateſmen, and one of the beſt Officers of the Age in which he lived. His Name at length was Don *Alvaro de Navia-Oſorio*, Viſcount *de Puerto*, Marquis *de Santa Cruz*, Chief of a moſt illuſtrious Family in the Principality of *Aſturias*, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot at fifteen, aud ſerving in that

Quality,

Quality, from the Year 1702 to the Peace of *Utrecht*. He was afterwards Miniſter at the Court of the King of *Sardinia*, where he ſpent his time in a very extraordinary manner for a publick Miniſter; for perceiving, that a light Gallantry and a ſupercilious Contempt for ſolid Literature grew much in faſhion among the young Nobility, he formed a ſort of Aſſembly at his Houſe, wherein he not only took the pains to ſhew the Uſe and Excellency of a contrary Conduct, but even condeſcended to become a Preceptor, a Profeſſor of the Mathematicks, and a Maſter of Exerciſes, that he might re-eſtabliſh a juſt Senſe of Virtue, Wiſdom and true Religion. Many anonymous Letters were ſent to King *Victor Amadeus*, intimating, that this was a Piece of *Spaniſh* Policy, but the King ſhewed them publickly, and ſaid, *My Subjects will do me a ſenſible Favour, if they attend the Marquis* de Santa Cruz's *Lectures, had I leiſure I would go thither myſelf.* At the time the Treaty of *Hanover* was made, there were great Offers ſtipulated by a foreign Miniſter, in caſe he would enter into it. The King had the Goodneſs to aſk the Marquis *de Santa Cruz*'s Advice. *Shall I give it your Majeſty freely*, ſaid he? *Yes*, ſaid the King, *ſpeak as freely as you pleaſe, Marquis. Why then*, continued he, *theſe Folk who bid ſo high in time of Peace, will bid ſtill higher when the Sword comes to be drawn, ſtay till then.* He was alſo Miniſter in *France* and *Holland*, and notwithſtanding the Multitude and Importance of his Employments, he compoſed in *Spaniſh* a Work intitled, *Political and Military Reflections*, of which ten Volumes in 4to. were printed in *Turin* before his Death; he had alſo undertaken another ſtill more laborious Work, *viz.* making a Collection of all the Treaties made by the Crown of *Spain*, in which he had proceeded a great way, before he was ſent firſt to *Ceuta*, and then to *Oran*. His Catholick Majeſty endeavour'd

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to repair his Loſs to his Family by extraordinary Liberalities. He gave his Widow half her Huſband's Appointments for Life; to his eldeſt Son, a Commandery worth eight thouſand Pieces of Eight; to his ſecond Son, a Troop of Horſe; to his youngeſt, a Company of Foot. But to return to the proper Buſineſs of theſe Memoirs.

This Victory, though it was of vaſt Advantage to the *Spaniards*, yet did it coſt them exceſſively dear. For, beſides the Marquis *de Santa Cruz*, Governour-General of the Conqueſts in *Africa*, there fell the Marquis *de Valdecagnas*, Brigadier-General, Don *Joſeph Pinel*, Colonel of Foot, a hundred other Officers, and between nine hundred and a thouſand private Men, beſides double that number who were wounded. As for the *Moors*, they had four thouſand Men killed upon the ſpot, a Multitude of Renegade Officers, and the Baſhaw *Ali* himſelf was ſo grievouſly wounded, that it was doubted whether he could recover. As ſoon as Baſhaw *Ripperda* received Advice of this unlucky Blow, he ordered a Tent to be ſet up at ſome diſtance from *Tetuan*, whither his Friend *Ali* was conducted; who, beſides the Grief and Anguiſh of his Wounds, was at his wit's end, leſt the Emperor ſhould revenge the Defeat of his Troops upon him. The Baſhaw *Ripperda* did all that was in his power to keep up his Spirits, and to ingage him to contribute all that in his power lay to his Recovery; which could not but be retarded, if not render'd entirely impracticable, if he gave himſelf up to Melancholy, and refuſed, as at firſt he did, the help of Phyſicians. As for what has happened, ſaid the Baſhaw *Ripperda*, the Emperor if he makes any body accountable muſt make me ſo, for it was I who recommended you to this Command. Theſe ſort of Speeches recovered *Ali* a little; but his Cure was in a manner effected, by the Receipt of a Letter from the Emperor, complimenting him on his

Courage

Courage and Activity, and aſſuring him, that his Majeſty would always retain a juſt Senſe of the great Zeal he had ſhewn in his Service. When Order was a little reſtored in the Army, and the Generals who had retired from thence, were, with much ado, perſuaded to reſume their Commands, the Baſhaw *Ripperda* left *Tetuan* to go to *Mequinez*, in order to receive his Imperial Majeſty's Commands. After his Arrival, ſeveral great Councils were held in the Preſence of him and of Admiral *Perez*, who, notwithſtanding his great Age and many Infirmities, had been all the Summer at Sea, and had performed ſome very extraordinary Exploits. The Reſult of theſe Deliberations was, that the Army ſhould be immediately put into Quarters of Refreſhment, that they ſhould be there punctually paid, and as punctually exerciſed, till the Seaſon of the Year ſhould call them into the Field. That during this Receſs from Action, Ways and Means ſhould be found out to raiſe the neceſſary Supplies; for which purpoſe, the Baſhaw *Ripperda* recommended his *Jews*, who, with wonderful Induſtry, deviſed various Methods of ſtripping the poor People of the little Subſtance they had left.

It not ſeeming neceſſary to Baſhaw *Ripperda*, that he ſhould be preſent in any Councils held for impoſing Taxes, under pretence of taking care of the Army, he retired very ſpeedily to *Tetuan*, where he lived as uſual in great Splendor, and at a vaſt Expence. In order to conciliate the Minds of the principal Officers, he invited them to leave the Army ſometimes, and to come and dine with him by turns; which accordingly they did, and were not only magnificently treated, but received with all imaginable Reſpect. Among the reſt, the Baſhaw of *Taxar* went to pay his Compliments, notwithſtanding the Coldneſs that had been between him and the Baſhaw *Ripperda*, ever ſince he defeated

Muly

Muly Hamet. Baſhaw *Ripperda* received him very kindly, and the other having aſſured him, that notwithſtanding ſome Marks of Diſreſpect he had ſince received, he would always remember that his good Fortune came from him; Baſhaw *Ripperda* on his ſide ſwore, he would be everlaſtingly his Friend. Theſe Compliments over, they ſat down to Dinner; but before they had eat a bit, an Officer, who had been at the Camp to inquire for the Baſhaw of *Taxar*, entered the Room, and deſired to ſpeak in the Emperor's Name with the Baſhaw *de Ripperda*. That Baſhaw roſe, and went to him, but trembling and in ſuch an Agony, that it was evident enough, he was not in the Secret of his Commiſſion. The Emperor's Officer however raiſed his Spirits a little, by telling him, All the Commands, my Lord, I have for you, are, that you immediately aſſemble a Council, and ſend for a Man of the Law. The Baſhaw did immediately what he was directed, and as ſoon as the Council were ſat, the Officer delivered an Order to the Baſhaw of *Taxar*, by which the Emperor required his Head. Whereupon, without any Reſiſtance, after a ſhort Prayer, he was ſtrangled in the preſence of *Ripperda* and his Council. As ſoon as this News arrived in the Army, they were ready to mutiny, making not the leaſt Scruple to ſay, that this was one of the Tricks of the *Dutch* Baſhaw, and that by degrees he would take off every Officer of Diſtinction who was by Birth a *Moor*. His Friend *Ali* gave him Intelligence of what paſt in the Army; and the Baſhaw no ſooner knew it, than he cauſed a Letter to be drawn up in *Arabick*, containing not only the ſtrongeſt Proteſtations of his Innocency, but alſo ſuch a Detail of the Circumſtances attending that Baſhaw's Death, as, by the help of *Ali*'s Aſſeverations, convinced every body, that the Baſhaw Duke had no hand therein.

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But if his Friend found means to diſengage him on this occaſion, he was not able the next Spring to deliver either the Baſhaw or himſelf from the Reproach of being baffled by the Marquis of *Villadarias*, who commanded for the *Spaniards* in *Oran*. This Nobleman, who had been extremely intimate with the late Governour, and who was well acquainted with all his Deſigns, haraſſed the *Moors* exceſſively, and not only repulſed them with great Loſs, whenever they attempted any thing againſt him, but alſo made continual Excurſions into their Territories, and beat up their advanced Quarters ſo often, that they were oblig'd at laſt to quit many of their Frontier Poſts. Admiral *Perez* at Sea had not better Succeſs; for though he had taken very adroitly a Squadron of ſmall Veſſels, carrying Proviſions to *Gibraltar*, yet he was forced to reſtore them: which put him into ſuch a Fury, that he afterwards took an *Engliſh* Veſſel, carried her to *Algiers*, and countenanced the Murder of the *Engliſh* Conſul there, notwithſtanding the many Civilities he had received in that Country. All theſe things being reported to *Muly Abdalla*, by ſome faithful Counſellors, who ſaw with concern, that the Emperor daily loſt the Affections of his Subjects, he fell firſt into a deep Melancholy, and then abandoning himſelf to the Pleaſures of his *Seraglio*, neither wrote to nor returned any Anſwer to the Letters of the Baſhaw *Ripperda*, by whoſe Care the Poſt went regularly from *Tetuan* to *Mequinez*. Some Weeks having paſt in this manner, the Baſhaw ſuſpecting that his Enemies had done him ſome ill Offices with the Emperor, and that it would not be long before he received ſuch another Order, as that which removed the Baſhaw of *Taxar* from the Land of the Living, reſolved rather to meet his Fate bravely, than timorouſly to expect it. With this view, without acquainting any of his Friends, he ſet out

from *Tetuan*, and arriving unexpectedly at *Mequinez*, went to repoſe himſelf for a day at his own Houſe, with the fair *Caſtilian*, not knowing whether ever he ſhould ſee her again; he concealed however his Chagrin in ſuch a manner, that neither ſhe, his Children, or Domeſticks perceived it; and when he left his Houſe, took leave of them as if he intended to return to *Tetuan*, which was however the Reverſe of his Deſign.

The next Morning, as ſoon as it was poſſible to ſpeak with the Emperor, Baſhaw *Ripperda* preſented himſelf in the Hall of Audience; and no ſooner had *Muly Abdalla* notice of his being there, than he went immediately to receive him. "Baſhaw, "ſaid he, how comeſt thou here? I ſent thee no "Orders, neither is there any thing of ſuch Impor-"tance as to require thy Preſence," "May it pleaſe "your Majeſty, returned the Baſhaw, my not re-"ceiving Orders was the Cauſe of my coming; "three Weeks are now elapſed ſince I have been "honoured with your Commands, and I began to "fear that your Majeſty repented the great Favour "you have ſhewn me. I am ſenſible, that For-"tune has been wanting to my Wiſhes, to my En-"deavours, and to the beſt Counſels I had the ho-"nour to give you. Had it been in my power, "without doubt it had waited on all your Majeſty's "Deſigns; but as it is without my power, it would "be hard to make me accountable for its Abſence. "However, here I am the Slave and Victim of "your Majeſty; if you ſuſpect me, puniſh me; if "you believe the ſhedding my Blood would be a "grateful Sacrifice to Heaven, offer it. This is all "that the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* can do more for your "Majeſty, he fought againſt your Enemies till "Age unbraced his Nerves, and his Arm could "no longer wield the Scymitar, he has employed "his Thoughts continually for your Advantage;

"if

" if his Head and Hands are now uſeleſs, he can-
" not help it, he comes to lay them down at your
" feet." " May the Wrath of Almighty God, and
" of his holy Prophet, cruſh me into Sand as that
" of a Wilderneſs, cry'd *Muly Abdalla*, when I hurt
" the Hair of your Beard. It is true, I have been
" chagrin'd by the long and loud Complaints of
" my Subjects; but notwithſtanding that, I ſhall
" never abandon thee to their Mercy. I know
" that Endeavours are all that lie within human
" Power, and that it depends upon Providence to
" give or to withhold Succeſs. Let it be as you
" ſay, return hither and live here in what manner
" you think fit; I ſhall always hear with pleaſure
" your Advices, and you may depend upon my
" Protection, ſo long as Providence protectsme."
The Baſhaw *de Ripperda* having thus carried his point, tranſported immediately all his Effects to *Mequinez*, that is to ſay, the Effects he had in *Barbary*; for, as from the beginning, he had always carried on a very extenſive Trade, ſo he made it a Rule with him ever to preſerve the greater Part of his Effects either in *England* or in *Holland*; in both which Places he had very faithful Correſpondents.

After he was ſettled at *Mequinez*, he turned his Thoughts more and more to the acquiring of Wealth, and ſecuring an Azylum, where, if the worſt came, he might remain in ſafety. With regard to the former, he formed a Project, no way worthy a Man of his Character, and one who had received ſuch ſignal Honours in a Country where Renegades are often employed, but very ſeldom regarded. He perſuaded *Muly Abdalla*, that the only means to furniſh the neceſſary Supplies for his Government, was privately to debaſe the Coin, which he pretended was a thing would hurt no body, but on the contrary, afford the Means of leſſening

oppreſſive Taxes. At firſt, this was practiſed with Diſcretion; but being repeated every year, their Money was at length brought to ſuch a paſs, that the Bulk of it was Copper, both ſides being cover'd with thin Plates of Silver. The Currency of this being eſtabliſh'd, gave a temporary eaſe to the Emperor, and to his People; but it brought a more ſolid Benefit to the Baſhaw *Ripperda*, who receiving his own Appointments in this Money, found means to circulate it in ſuch a manner, as to bring the nominal Value of this Coin into his Coffers in ſolid Pieces of Eight. In this ſort of Negotiation, or rather in this kind of Fraud, his truſty Agents the *Jews* did him ſignal Service. On the other hand, he ſecured the Baſhaw of *Tetuan*, an old cunning and experienced Infidel, one who kept up conſtantly a Corps of Troops in his own Pay, and devoted only to his Service; one, who in Humility of Phraſe, and in the Vehemency of Promiſes, was the Emperor's moſt dutiful Subject, but was in fact careful of his own Intereſt, and of nothing elſe. The Baſhaw *de Ripperda* had favour'd throughout all his Adminiſtration this covetous and ambitious Man, and now had let him lately into ſome Secrets in Commerce, whereby he reaped great Advantages, but at the ſame time rendered himſelf abſolutely dependent on *Ripperda*, without whom, in theſe matters, he could do nothing.

When our Stateſman had thus provided that Plenty and Safety ſhould never be wanting to himſelf, he did not fatigue himſelf with publick Affairs near ſo much as he was wont to do. He went ſometimes indeed to Council; but it was rather to ſee what was done there, and to keep up his Intereſt with its Members, than from any Deſire he had to mingle farther in the Intereſt of the *Moors*. Yet, as to the Emperor, he paid him more Court than ever, diverted him in his Melancholy, amuſed him

him with ſpecious Promiſes, gave a pleaſing Turn to whatever was related to him, and, in one word, employed his utmoſt Care to prevent his liſtening to the Voice of his Subjects, and preſerving his Crown at this fatal Favourite's Expence. At home the Baſhaw lived like a good *Moor* in a moſt voluptuous way, and without the ſmalleſt Sign either of Remorſe for what he had done, or of Apprehenſion that Providence might puniſh him in another World, for the great Crimes he had committed in this. Admiral *Perez*, and a few Renegades, who were as wicked as himſelf, conſtituted the Circle of his Friends, though the *Jews* only had his Confidence, and were employed in tranſacting whatever he deſired ſhould remain ſecret in publick or in private Affairs; by which method he gain'd his Ends, and put it out of the power of the *Moors* to redreſs themſelves, by confiſcating his Effects. However, all his Arts were attended with this ill Conſequence, that in proportion as they were uſeful to him, they were dangerous and deſtructive to his Maſter.

The *Moors*, though they were at firſt very well ſatisfy'd with the ſmall Money, which had been iſſued from the Royal Treaſury, began by degrees to perceive the ill Conſequences that attended it. The *Engliſh* Merchants were the firſt who refuſed to take it in Payments; ſoon after the foreign Merchants in general followed their Example, this obliged even the People of the Country to be more cautious; and at laſt a Piece of Eight, which at firſt went but for eleven of theſe Pieces, came to be worth twenty. The Wars had interrupted their Harveſt, and the few Manufactures which were in *Barbary*; theſe Misfortunes induced Want, and Want amongſt *Moors* naturally begets Mutiny. The People univerſally clamour'd againſt the Government, reproached the Grandees with ſubmit-

ting implicitly to a Renegade, throwing in the Emperor's teeth his Indolence and want of Capacity, and charging on the Baſhaw *de Ripperda* the embezzeling the publick Treaſure, and the betraying their Counſels to the Chriſtians; both of which were certainly falſe. Thoſe who invented them, knew this perhaps better than any other People; but they knew that theſe were Tales fit to inflame the Multitude, and therefore they made uſe of them: For it is an Error common to all Parties, that they think the Ends they purſue ſo ſacred, as to ſanctify any Methods which they find it either proper or neceſſary to uſe.

To blow the Fire of Sedition, till it ſhould kindle the Flame of Rebellion, was the Buſineſs of *Muly Ali*, a new Pretender to the Empire, who became a Patriot, that he might become a Prince. He firſt took Arms under colour of promoting the Publick Good. He, with great Induſtry, publiſhed the Miſtakes, the Male-adminiſtration, and the Misfortunes of *Muly Abdálla*, and then intimated to the People, that the Emperor was obnoxious to the Divine Providence, which muſt be appeaſed by a Change of Councils, and the ſacrificing the Renegade *Ripperda*, or by the immediate Depoſition of the Emperor himſelf. Theſe ſort of Diſcourſes took with the common People; they therefore reſorted in great numbers to this new Chief, who ſoon acquired Force enough to move towards *Mequinez*, and to make the whole Empire tremble. The Baſhaw *Ripperda*, who had the firſt and ſureſt Advices, perceiving that things were now at a Criſis, and that, in all human probability, his Protector *Muly Abdalla* would be reduced to the Condition of a private Man, with much Prudence, though with little Gratitude, determined firſt to take care of his own Affairs, and then to make ſome Efforts in favour of his Maſter.

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With this view he gave out, that he would ſhortly ſend, at his own Expence, a Convoy of Ammunition and Proviſions to the Army which ſtill continued before *Oran*. But when this Convoy departed, he ſent therewith the moſt valuable of his Effects, his Lady, and his Children, with Orders to halt in the midſt of their Journey, at a Place that was equally diſtant from the Camp and from *Tetuan:* he went then to Court to warn the Emperor of his Danger; but being told, that Prince was gone a hunting, he ſet out privately to join the Convoy, and as ſoon as he had join'd it, turn'd off with his Family and Effects for *Tetuan*, where he and they arrived in Safety. The Baſhaw of that Place received his Friend *Ripperda* with all imaginable Kindneſs, provided for him a magnificent Houſe, aſſigned him a Guard for his Perſon, and ſwore to him, that ſo long as he preſerved his Authority, and the ſtrong Town of *Tetuan*, he might aſſure himſelf of ſafety. The Baſhaw Duke *de Ripperda* teſtify'd the higheſt Senſe of Gratitude for theſe extraordinary Favours, and gave the Baſhaw of *Tetuan* to underſtand, that he ſhould be able to render him much more important Services now he was his Gueſt, than he was able to do while at *Mequinez*. He likewiſe did his utmoſt to ingratiate himſelf with the principal Perſons in the City, affirming that the Diſcontents of the People, tho' they might be juſt enough in themſelves, were very far from being ſo with reſpect to him; that he had made it his Study from his firſt Arrival in *Barbary*, to do them all the good he could, and that tho' they might have ſuffer'd grievouſly under his Adminiſtration, yet was it entirely owing to Events inevitable, as well as unforeſeen, which would certainly have had much worſe Conſequences, if his prudent Counſels had not prevented them. That it was moſt apparent, the *Spaniards* had never

invaded them with ſo great Force, and that it appeared by his Catholick Majeſty's Manifeſto, he had formed this Deſign a Twelvemonth before he, *Ripperda*, had arrived in *Barbary*. That he had eſtabliſhed Poſts, regulated the Revenues, reſtor'd the Trade, and put the Maritime Force of the Empire on a new foot, as, if the Army could have been render'd obedient, he would have done by their Militia; whence he concluded, that he was very ill recompenſed for all his Cares, and that the People of *Barbary*, like the People in *Spain*, were incapable of diſcerning an able Miniſter under Misfortunes from a bad one. Theſe, to whom he addreſſed this Apology, ſeemed to liſten to it with great Satisfaction. Yet, in fact, they concurred with their Countrymen; for though they could not anſwer what he had advanced, and were far from being able to ſee through the Fallacy of his Arguments, yet they knew, that he was a Stranger, a Renegade, and lived as if he was rich, which were to them ſo many unanſwerable Reaſons for openly flattering, and ſecretly hating him.

The Emperor *Muly Abdalla*, on his Return from Hunting, received Advice from his Council, that his Perſon was ſcarce in ſafety, even in his Capital, that the People were ſo incenſed, that it was impoſſible to preſerve them from breaking out into open Acts of Diſloyalty, and that therefore it was neceſſary for his Majeſty to take ſome ſpeedy Meaſures for reſtoring Order and ſupporting his Government. Inſtantly an Officer was ſent to the Houſe of the Baſhaw *de Ripperda*, to command him to attend the Council; but the Officer quickly returned with this Anſwer, that he was gone no body knew whither. At this the Emperor was exceedingly ſurprized, and began to think that his Affairs were irretrievable. He cauſed however a general Aſſembly ofall the great Men, who were

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at or near *Mequinez*, to be convoked. When they were met, he went to them, and in a long Speech, laid before them the Reaſons of their meeting, and of his own Conduct; he expatiated on the Mildneſs of his Government, on the Happineſs they had injoy'd in the firſt Years of his Reign, on the Impoſſibility of preventing the Misfortunes which had ſince happened, and on his own Readineſs to reſign, not only the Empire, but his Life, if ſuch a Sacrifice ſhould ſeem expedient for the People. After the King had done ſpeaking, the graveſt and moſt knowing of the Members offered their Opinions. The Sum of which was, that the King ſhould by a publick Declaration diveſt Baſhaw *Ripperda* of all his Employments; that he ſhould ſolemnly promiſe his People to take for the future new and better Meaſures; that he ſhould ſend Commiſſioners to treat with the Rebels, and to offer them Money, and that he ſhould ſend by an Expreſs Orders to Baſhaw *Ali* to march immediately to *Mequinez* with the Army, that at all Events he might be able to ſecure himſelf, and ſuch as remained faithful to him.

The Emperor was very well ſatisfied with this Advice, and with all the Propoſals they made. He publiſhed ſuch a Declaration as was required from him; he ſent Commiſſioners to treat with the Rebels, and Orders to Baſhaw *Ali* to repair with all his Forces to *Mequinez*. Yet theſe Precautions availed nothing, the People ſaid openly, That the Emperor had ſent away the Baſhaw before he condemned him, the Rebels inſtead of treating with his Commiſſioners, knock'd their Brains out, and the Forces under Baſhaw *Ali* were defeated ſoon after their Arrival, notwithſtanding all the Efforts of their General, who fought bravely in defence of his Prince. *Muly Abdalla*, after this Misfortune, ſaw it was impracticable to preſerve his Crown, and

therefore

therefore fought only how to ſecure his Perſon. With this view he quitted *Mequinez*, and retired with the ſhattered Remains of his Army into the Province of *Taffilet*, where he flatter'd himſelf he ſhould ſtill find many faithful Subjects: and the very moment he had abandon'd his Capital, the People, according to their wonted Fickleneſs, proclaimed *Muly Ali* Emperor of *Morocco* and *Fez*, though as yet he had not pretended to the Empire, but gave out, that he intended nothing more than to free the People from their Grievances; though he had afterwards too much Complaiſance to refuſe the Crown when it was preſs'd upon him, as the free Gift of the People.

As ſoon as *Muly Ali* was ſeated on the Throne, and had received Deputies from all the Provinces, as alſo from the State of *Algiers*, to compliment him on his Acceſſion, he ſent a circular Order to the ſeveral Governours of Provinces and Fortreſſes to come in Perſon to pay their Homage, and ſo receive his Orders. Among the reſt, the Baſhaw of *Tetuan* received the Imperial Summons, but he was not in the humour to comply with it, though he did not openly declare againſt the newly-advanced Prince. As this was a critical Conjuncture, the Counſels of Baſhaw *Ripperda* were of great Service to him, and it was by them that he regulated his whole Conduct. As for the Emperor *Muly Ali*, he was ſo uneaſy at the Baſhaw of *Tetuan*'s refuſing to acknowledge him, that he reſolved firſt of all to try what could be done by fair Means, and if he did not ſucceed, to proceed to Force. In purſuance of this Deſign, he ſent his Son to *Tetuan*, to aſſure the Baſhaw, that he was far from intending him any hurt; that from the Character he had receiv'd of him, he had a very high Opinion of his Capacity as a Stateſman, and as a Soldier, and that on this account he was very deſirous of having his Advice.

The

The Confidence the Emperor repoſed in him, made a ſtrong Impreſſion on the Baſhaw; but he would do nothing, eſpecially in ſo important an Affair, without conſulting his Brother *Ripperda*, who was very far from approving his Deſign of going to Court. "You will then, ſaid he, be in the power "of your Enemy, and this young Man, whom "you leave as a Hoſtage, will quickly become our "Maſter." The Baſhaw of *Tetuan* reliſhed this ſage Counſel, gave the young Prince a general, yet a reſpectful Anſwer, treated him in all things, as if the Son of his Sovereign, but the moment he was gone from *Tetuan*, removed his Treaſures, his Women, and the greateſt part of his Troops to *Tangier*, which he fortified in ſuch a manner, that himſelf, and his Friend *Ripperda*, who went with him, were under no great Apprehenſions from all that the Emperor could do.

The Emperor *Muly Ali* ſeeing his firſt Project defeated, had immediately recourſe to Arms; but not daring to truſt an Army of *Moors* in the Field, unleſs he was himſelf at their head, and being no leſs afraid to leave *Mequinez*, where he had been ſo lately acknowledg'd, he came at laſt to a Reſolution of ſending a Body of *Blacks*, which he had in his Pay, to form the Blockade of *Tangier*, whereby he made no queſtion, that he ſhould quickly have both the Baſhaws at his mercy. The Negro Troops, as ſoon as they had received the Emperor's Commands, marched directly towards *Tangier*, and as ſoon as they arrived in ſight thereof, made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for inveſting the Place. Before they broke ground, the two Baſhaws ſent an Agent to treat with them, who offered them a very conſiderable Sum of Money, if they would abandon the Enterprize, and retire towards *Mequinez*. Money is an Argument never reply'd to in *Africk*; the Negroes, who were all Obedience but

a little while before, discovered now unsurmountable Obstacles in this Affair. They therefore wisely raised the Siege, and filled their Pockets. Immediately after the Bashaws sent a Person to treat with the Emperor himself. This Agent represented, that his Masters had all the Respect imaginable for the Person of *Muly Ali*, and no Scruple at all with regard to his Title to the Crown. If therefore he would be pleased to confirm the Bashaw of *Tetuan* in his Government, and afford his Protection to the Bashaw *de Ripperda*, they were ready to submit, to acknowledge him for their Sovereign, to pay him a considerable Sum in Ready-Money, as well as an annual Tribute. At that time *Muly Ali* stood in great need of such a Supply, he therefore accepted without hesitation Terms so acceptable in their nature, and granted the Bashaws all, nay, and more than they desired; upon which the Money was paid to a Person he sent to receive it: the Bashaw of *Tetuan* sent Deputies to do homage in his Name to the Emperor; and Bashaw *Ripperda* wrote him a Letter of Felicitation, which *Muly Ali* received very kindly, and assured the Person who delivered it, that his Master might rely upon his Protection.

As for the dethron'd Emperor *Muly Abdalla*, he shelter'd himself in the Woods and Mountains of the Province of *Taffilet*, where he had about him still three thousand Horse, who seemed determin'd to share his Fortunes, let them be what they would. The Bashaw *Ali* remained at their head, so long as he thought his Presence of any use to his Master; but when he perceived that his Affairs daily declined, and that in case *Muly Ali* sent any Troops into the Province, his Master would be in great danger of being delivered up, he desired his leave to go to *Tetuan*, in order to feel the Pulse of its Bashaw, and to see if it was not possible to set on foot

foot new Diſturbances either in the Kingdom of *Morocco* or in that of *Fez*. It was with great pain that *Muly Abdalla* heard this Diſcourſe, he had no Comfort, no Relief but in the Converſation of *Ali*; and it grieved him to the ſoul to find, that it was now neceſſary for his Service, that even this Friend of his ſhould leave him. But the Neceſſity of the thing ſurmounting both Reaſon and Tenderneſs, he gave him leave to depart, and ſupply'd him with half the Gold and Jewels which were left. After his Departure, the unfortunate *Muly Abdalla* wandered about in that large, but diſmal Country, wherein it is almoſt a Puniſhment to live. The Soil is for the moſt part ſandy and ſo barren, that there is no Wheat at all grows in the whole Province. By the River's ſides, and where they can bring Water, they have a little Barley; but it is ſo ſcarce and dear, that none but Perſons of the firſt Rank can purchaſe it; the common People live altogether upon Dates and Camel's Fleſh, and the Milk of that Creature is their common Drink. The City of *Taffilet* is not only the Capital of the Province, but the only City therein, though on the River's ſides, there are many large and populous Villages. The Inhabitants are of three different ſorts. The firſt are the *Cheriffs*, or *Deſcendants* from *Mohammed*; theſe dwell in Caſtles ſeated for the moſt part in inacceſſible Places, and well guarded beſides. The *Arabs* inhabit the Towns, where they cultivate what little Barley there is, as alſo the Dates. They likewiſe tan Leather, and uſe all the Trades that are exerciſed in that part of the World. The third ſort are the *Moors*, who are deſcended from the ancient Inhabitants of the Country; theſe are a very black flat-noſed People, who dwell altogether in the Mountains, where they breed a vaſt number of Camels and Dromedaries, which they ſometimes bring down into the Plains,

and

and exchange with the *Arabs* for Dates. As *Muly Abdalla* durſt not truſt himſelf in the Plains, he was obliged to take up his Reſidence for the moſt part among the People laſt mentioned; however he ſupported his Condition with a great deal of Firmneſs, and demeaned himſelf in ſuch a manner, as procured him many Friends in his melancholly Exile, and who at the hazard of their Lives, brought him frequent Advice from *Mequinez*.

As for Baſhaw *Ali*, he arrived at *Tetuan* a very little while before the Baſhaw of that Place had been obliged to retire, as has been related, to *Tangier*. Both that crafty Stateſman and Baſhaw *Ripperda*, received him with open Arms, commended his Fidelity, and promiſed him all the Aſſiſtance they could give him; which Promiſe they kept, becauſe it was their Intereſt. By this means, *Ali* had an Opportunity of ſending into every Province of the Empire a Manifeſto in the Name of *Muly Abdalla*, requiring the Aid of all his good Subjects, for the Recovery of his Throne. But this Manifeſto having little or no Effect, and the two Baſhaws having made their Peace with *Muly Ali*, they would fain have perſuaded this loyal Renegade to follow their Example, and to make his Peace too. But *Ali* was of another Diſpoſition: He told the Baſhaw of *Tetuan*, that he would conſider of his Propoſal; but to *Ripperda*, he own'd frankly, that he deſpiſed it. "I may, ſaid he, while things remain "in the State they are now in, ſit ſtill and enjoy "your Company in quiet; but if the Mutability "of the *Moors* ſhould ever encourage *Muly Ab-* "*dalla* to attempt reaſcending the Throne, *Ali* will "either cut him out a Paſſage thereto, or periſh in "his Cauſe." *Ripperda* could hardly avoid ſmiling at this Diſcourſe. Practiſed in the Arts of Court, he thought a Change of Principles a Tranſition abſolutely neceſſary on a Change of Fortune. A Revo-

Revolution was to him a kind of Revelation, which turned Morality inside out, and made that excellent to-day, which yesterday was the greatest Evil.

After the Treaty before-mentioned between the new Emperor and the two Bashaws, the latter thought fit to return to *Tetuan*, that they might enjoy the Fruits of Peace more conveniently. *Tetuan* is a Town seated in the Province of *Habad*, in the Kingdom of *Fez*. It stands in the midst of a fine Plain, surrounded with Groves. The Country all about is extremely fertil, and the Inhabitants were formerly very rich through their Piracy, as they are now by reason of their Trade with *Algiers*. In the Year 1400, it was destroyed by the Christians, but was afterwards rebuilt better than before. Its Walls, though they make a good Appearance, are very far from being strong, and its Castle, which is built in form of a St. *Andrew*'s Cross, is much more proper to awe the Inhabitants, than to defend them. There is a navigable River runs through the City; but the Port is properly speaking at two Leagues distance. *Philip* II. ruin'd it about the Year 1564; however shortly after, a Storm cleared the Port on the other side, so that now, though but indifferent, it is at least as good as it was before. On the whole, there is not a more agreeable Place in *Barbary*, especially if we consider, that it is but twenty Miles from the Streights of *Gibraltar*; so that it lies very convenient for Trade, and for the earliest Intelligence from all Parts of *Europe*. We need not wonder therefore that Bashaw *Ripperda* was so pleased with, and so desirous of making it the Place of his Residence, since his Disposition was quite alter'd, and he sought Peace now, with the same Diligence he was wont to shun it.

The Bashaw of *Tetuan*, as he was very rich and very ambitious, so he was also very magnificent; he

he kept a good Table, at which *Ripperda*, and *Ali* generally dined, when he did not dine at the Baſhaw *Ripperda*'s. Wine, notwithſtanding they were *Mohammedans*, was never miſſing at their Tables, and they excuſed it, as the *Jews* do their feeding on Shell-fiſh, becauſe they took it not for Pleaſure, but for Health-ſake. *Ripperda* would ſometimes drink a little more than ordinary, and when his Spirits were exalted, would ſay ſuch quick and lively things, as the Baſhaw of *Tetuan* thought not quite ſo conſiſtent with the Gravity of a *Muſſulman*. This, when he next ſaw him, he would ſometimes intimate; but *Ripperda*'s conſtant Reply was ſo reaſonable, that it admitted no Rejoinder. *It is impoſſible*, ſaid he, *of a bad Chriſtian to make a good Mohammedan. Devout Men are no Turn-coats, and a Man who changes his Religion often may be a Hypocrite, or a Bigot, but becomes very rarely pious.* At theſe Entertainments, the fair *Caſtilian* was ſometimes preſent, and by her Voice and her Wit contributed not a little to increaſe the Mirth, and keep up the Spirit of their Converſations. But theſe Scenes of Joy quickly ſlid away. The Baſhaw Duke felt the Gout aſcend towards his Stomach, and perceiving from thence that his End was drawing near, he fell into a great Diſorder of Mind, and loſt much of that Firmneſs of Soul with which he had formerly ſuſtained the Attacks of that Diſtemper.

When he kept his Bed, he refuſed to ſee any Company except *Ali* and the fair *Caſtilian*. To her he ſpoke little, but ſighed often, and ſometimes deſired her to pray for him. To his Friend he behaved otherwiſe. He would frequently exhauſt his Spirits on the Folly of purſuing Pleaſure or Power. "Neither of theſe, ſaid he, when poſſeſſed in the "higheſt Degree, can give the human Mind Con- "tent, and this being known, it is but Madneſs "for

" for Men to waſte their Health, their Abili-
" ties, and their Time in ſeeking to acquire them.
" I am a melancholly Inſtance of this Truth. I
" have now time to reflect on my paſt Life, and I
" not only deteſt the Methods by which I reached
" the Pleaſures, and compaſſed the Dominion I
" ſought; but I alſo loath the Thoughts of thoſe
" Pleaſures and that Dominion, and had rather
" have been a Shepherd, or a Hermit, than the
" Baron, Duke, or Baſhaw *Ripperda.*" To theſe Diſcourſes *Ali* would ſometimes reply pleaſantly:
" Your Diſorders, ſaid he, in Mind, are the Ef-
" fects of your Sickneſs in Body, a ſort of Vapours,
" which naturally riſe when the Humours are troub-
" led. But you muſt take Phyſick for them as for
" your Diſeaſe; and as you arm yourſelf with Pa-
" tience againſt Pain, ſo by Pleaſantry you muſt
" defend yourſelf from theſe black Fits of Melan-
" cholly." " Alas! cry'd the Baſhaw *Ripperda*, the
" Pains of the Gout, however exquiſite, are no-
" thing comparable to the Agonies of my Mind.
" It is not Death that I am afraid of. Alas! were
" it to be found, I would ſeek it. But I am con-
" ſcious to myſelf, there is no ſuch thing. A Man
" cannot eaſe himſelf of bodily Pain, by going from
" one Place to another; how then ſhall the Anxiety
" of his Mind be extinguiſhed by ſo ſmall an Alte-
" ration, as the *being in*, or *out of his Body*. I ſhall
" think then more ſtrongly than I do now; I ſhall
" remember what I do not remember now; I ſhall
" ſee the Conſequences of all my evil Deeds, which
" I cannot ſee now; and all this ſhall be the Enter-
" tainment of an immortal Spirit, alike incapable of
" ceaſing to be, or of becoming happy. Do you
" call theſe Vapours, *Ali?* Do I ſpeak like a Man
" diſtracted? Or do you not perceive, that my
" Thoughts have more Force than when loaded
" with Infirmities, I led the *Moors* to Battle, and

" forgot the Pains of my Body, to gratify the vi-
" cious Paſſions of my Soul?" " I know, ſaid *Ali*,
" that while Misfortune reached me only, I had
" Strength and Courage enough to ſupport it, to
" conceal my inward Pain, and to put on ſuch a
" Behaviour as might render me agreeable to o-
" thers; but ſeeing you in this Condition, I can
" no longer preſerve my Fortitude. Believe me,
" my Trouble is equal to your own. There is one
" thing only that can eaſe us." " And what is that,
" ſaid *Ripperda*, haſtily? " Let me ſend, ſaid *Ali*,
" for Father *Zachary* from *Mequinez*, to whoſe
" Care you committed your Son; he is a Prieſt full
" of Piety, and tho' a Monk, void of Fraud or of
" Art; he is a proper Phyſician for a Man in
" your Condition, and he only can give you Eaſe."
" Send for him, ſaid the Baſhaw, faintly; but
" make haſte, or he will come too late."

Baſhaw *Ali* did immediately what he had promiſed, he wrote a moſt preſſing Letter to Father *Zachary*, intreating him to depart for *Tetuan* the moment he received it, and diſpatched it by an Expreſs. In this Letter, the Father was plainly told the State that the Duke *de Ripperda* was in, his earneſt Deſire to confeſs not only all the Sins of his paſt Life, but in an eſpecial manner his Weakneſs and Wickedneſs, in ſuffering Circumciſion, and pretending to believe all the Abſurdities of the *Mohammedan* Religion. Father *Zachary*, on the Receipt of this Letter, finding it impoſſible for him to leave the Monaſtery, wrote an Anſwer equally pious and inſtructive; wherein he exhorted the Baſhaw not to deſpair of God's Mercy, or to ſuffer his Spirit to be ſo far dejected, as to injure his Senſes and impair his Underſtanding, becauſe in the great Work of Repentance, more than ordinary Attention would be neceſſary, and the whole Force even of his great Abilities be requiſite to diſcern what was his Duty,

and

and what Satisfaction was neceſſary to ſhew the Sincerity of his Converſion. He concluded this Letter with aſſuring him, that he would ſet out the next Morning for *Tetuan*, and bring with him the young *Ripperda*, whom his Mother had committed to his Tuition. As ſoon as this Anſwer arrived, *Ali* carried it to the Baſhaw, and read it by his Bedſide, ſhedding at the ſame time a Torrent of Tears, and bemoaning his own and his Friend's miſerable Condition. As for the Duke *de Ripperda* he thank'd him for the pains he had taken, and after he had heard the Letter, appeared more calm and better ſatisfy'd, often repeating, I beſeech God that I may live till the Father arrives.

The fair *Caſtilian*, though ſhe was exceedingly grieved at the ſight of the Duke's Pain and Torment, yet was ſhe inwardly rejoiced at the noble Reſolution he had taken of dying like a Man of Honour and good Senſe, that is, like a Chriſtian. For the ſublimeſt Senſe of Honour, and the utmoſt Exaltation human Reaſon is capable of, are in the Poſſeſſion of a Diſciple of the Goſpel. The Philoſophy of the Heathens was vain; the Enthuſiaſm of the *Mohammedans* is in reality a Species of Madneſs; the calm, ſteady, unaffected Piety of a true Chriſtian, is a Conduct worthy of a rational Being, and therefore muſt be its higheſt Felicity, and the true Religion, that is the true Rule of Action. The Conſideration of the Duke's Repentance, led alſo this unhappy Woman to the ſerious Contemplation of her own Faults, and to an unfeigned Sorrow for the wrong ſteps ſhe had taken, with a firm Reſolution of returning into *Europe* after the Baſhaw's Death, and entering there on a State of Penitence, which might attone for it. As ſhe believ'd that *Ali* was the principal Author of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Converſion, ſhe returned him the moſt ſincere Acknowledgements; and he, on his ſide,

promiſed her and her Children all the Service in his power.

The next day the Duke grew worſe; they then perceived, that, together with the Gout, he had a ſlow Hectick Fever, which left no room for Hope, that by the Strength of his Conſtitution he might recover. Towards Evening, he had fainting Fits, wherein he loſt his Senſes; when he recovered a little, he inquired whether Father *Zachary* was come; and when he was told, that he was not, he grew impatient and reſtleſs. At laſt the Father came into his Chamber, having not ſtopt ſo much as to ſpeak to any body when he entered the Houſe; the young *Ripperda* was with him, and the fair *Caſtilian* followed them. The Duke looking upon him earneſtly, ſaid with a trembling Voice; "You ſee, "my Father, in how low and languiſhing a Con- "dition I am; at the Threſhold of this Life, and "which is of much more conſequence, on the Brink "of another. You cannot but know the State of "my Conſcience, the Sadneſs of which will be bet- "ter expreſs'd by my Silence than by any Words "I can uſe. My Sins and my Sorrows are a Load "I am unable to bear; I want Courage, I want "Strength to think of Death; and, alas! it is ſo "near that I can think of nothing elſe.——Pity "me, Father, in this Condition; look with an "Eye of Tenderneſs on my Calamities; forget the "Wickedneſs of my paſt Behaviour, and particu- "larly the Injuries and Affronts I offered you, "when you formerly repreſented the Iniquity of "my Conduct to my ſight. I am now ſenſible of "the great Sin I committed: I aſk, I implore your "Pardon, with the moſt ſincere Concern."

It is not I, return'd Father *Zachary*, *who have the Power of pardoning you; you muſt expect that from God alone; to him therefore raiſe all your Petitions, and be aſſured, that as certain as his Juſtice wil*

will puniſh the Obſtinate, ſo ſurely will his Mercy ſave thoſe who are truly Penitent: ſtrive, Sir, to be of that number. Alas! alas! my Father, *reply'd the Duke*, is it not too late when a Man is a dying to repair the Faults of a miſpent Life? *No, Sir*, reply'd the Prieſt, *the Grace of God which inſpires you with theſe Thoughts, gives us, and ought to give you, room to hope, that this Repentance, late as it is, may, if it be ſincere, avail you. Do you, from the bottom of your Heart, deteſt that baſe Compliance with the Deſires of the Infidels, which led you to abandon the Faith? And do you now ſincerely deſire to die in the Boſom of the Church of Chriſt?* The Duke reply'd, *I do*; and thereupon the Prieſt confeſſed, abſolved, and adminiſtred the Sacraments to him; after which, the Duke felt himſelf ſo eaſy, that he determined to make his Will, and ſettle his temporal Affairs, that he might have nothing left to do but to think of his Diſſolution.

In order to this, he ſent for *Ali*, the fair *Caſtilian*, and his Children. When they were come into the Room, he directed Father *Zachary* to commit his Intentions to Writing. "I leave, ſaid he, "to that Lady all that I die poſſeſſed of, and my "Deſire is that ſhe ſhould divide it equally between "my two Children. I leave to the Monaſtery of "the *Holy Trinity*, and to the Fathers of that Or-"der, *eight thouſand Pieces of Eight*, to be diſ-"poſed of as they ſhall think fit; and I farther "leave them *two thouſand Pieces of Eight per An-"num*, for the Releaſe of Captives, till the like Sum "of *eight thouſand Pieces of Eight* ſhall be compleated. "To each of my Domeſticks I leave ten Piſtoles. "To the young Men in my Compting-houſe, a "*hundred Piſtoles* each. To my Secretary, *three "hundred*. And my Will is, that if that Lady "marry again, my Children ſhall be entitled to "two Thirds of my Eſtate; and in caſe they are

" not of Age, I conſtitute the Fathers *Trinitarians*,
" their Guardians and Truſtees."

For ſome days after the Duke was eaſier than he had been for many Months before, though his Strength daily decreaſed, and he grew ſenſible that he had not long to laſt. One day, when *Ali* was ſitting by him and diſcourſing of the Wiſdom and Courage he had ſhewn in his late Abjuration of *Mohammediſm*, *My dear Friend*, ſaid the Baſhaw, *I am moſt ſenſible of the Truth of what you ſay; for though I am in great Pain in all parts of my Body, and am unable to make uſe of any of my Members, yet ſuch is the Serenity of my Mind, that I think myſelf in Paradiſe. But tell me, why are you earneſt for my Salvation, and ſo careleſs of your own? My dear Duke*, reply'd *Ali*, *I ſhall very ſpeedily follow you. I only conceal my Sentiments, that I may ſee Juſtice done to your Lady and her Children. Give me your hand*, ſaid the Baſhaw Duke, *there is nothing more in this World which concerns me; I ſhall now die in Peace, and without Regret.*

The Evening before he died, looking round the Room, and ſeeing his Cabinet and ſome Pieces of Gold Plate there, he ſaid to his Lady, *Let theſe be removed; let it be done to-night; confide all my Effects to* Ali; *I know the covetous Temper of the Baſhaw of* Tetuan, *and the ſordid Souls of theſe* Moors. *I know as ſoon as they are acquainted with my death, they will plunder this Houſe; leave them ſomewhat to gratify their Avarice, and to ſtop further Search.* His Deſire was inſtantly comply'd with, his own Servants and thoſe of *Ali* convey'd away all his Effects, and that generous Renegade converted them into Money, and diſpoſed of them for the Benefit of his Children, with the moſt ſcrupulous Fidelity.

As the Sun began to decline the next day, ſuch Signs of inſtant Death appeared, that Father *Zachary* calling the Lady and her Sons into the Room,

Room, aſk'd him, if he had any thing more to ſay to his Children? *Alas!* returned the Duke, *what can I ſay? Let the Example of their Father be ever before their Eyes, let them ſtudy to have leſs Ambition, and more Probity! In my Life, they ſee what ought not to be done; and I hope the World will ſee in theirs nothing of the ſame kind.* He had ſcarce pronounced theſe Words, and had heard a ſhort Prayer, which Father *Zachary* had made for him, before he expired.

He died on the 17th of *October*, 1737, N.S. and as he rightly foreſaw, the next day the *Moors* aſſembled about his Houſe and pillaged it. When the were retired, the Baſhaw gave Orders that his Body ſhould be tranſported to the Moſque. There the *Imam* made a long Harangue on the Virtues of the Deceaſed: For they were entirely ignorant of his changing his Religion. Then followed the Interment, with all poſſible Pomp, under a triple Diſcharge of the Artillery of the Place, and of the ſmall Arms of the Gariſon. On his Tomb, there is inſcribed in *Arabick*, a ſhort Character of him to this purpoſe:

Here reſts the Baſhaw Duke de Ripperda, *who living acquired great Honour in the Field, and in the Cabinet, in* Europe, *and in* Africk; *particularly in* Morocco, *during the Reign of* Muly Abdalla, *Great in his Life, and Famous after his Death.*

Thus died in Peace, after a Life ſpent in Trouble, *William Lewis de Ripperda*, whoſe Actions have characterized him ſo thoroughly, that there is no need of troubling the Reader with long and labour'd Reflections. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that in him the Thirſt of Power and of Revenge were boundleſs; that the Fury of his Paſſions juſtly deprived him of that Glory, which the Strength of his Reaſon and his extraordinary Fortitude would otherwiſe have beſtowed; that the great Source of

his Misfortunes, was his believing that he might make a Tool of Religion; and that the ſole Excuſe his greateſt Friends can make for him is, That he died a better Man than he lived.

As for the Family he left behind him, his Children by the Dutcheſs are living, and by an excellent Conduct have removed from their Family all the Blemiſh, which through their Father's Failings fell thereon. The *Spaniſh* Lady did not long ſurvive him, but in returning to *Holland*, died at Sea of a Dropſy. Her Children ſurvive, are privately and properly educated by thoſe who preſerve a grateful Regard for the good Offices done them by M. *de Ripperda*, and have buried with him all Remembrance of his Vices.

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AN APPENDIX.

AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Some PAPERS on the BALANCE of *Europe*;

The PRESENT STATE of *Spain*;

AND

The CONSEQUENCES of a WAR in the *West-Indies*.

APPENDIX.

ON the publiſhing the ſecond Edition of this Book it was thought proper to add the following three Diſcourſes, which were furniſhed by a Perſon who obliged the Author with many Particulars in the Life itſelf. The printing them was rendred the more expedient by the conformity in Circumſtances between the preſent Juncture and that wherein they were written; for it appears they were penned about the Year 1726, when it was conceived that a War between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, was inevitable.

There have been, within theſe few years, a multitude of Political Pieces, publiſhed on the ſame ſubjects. I am perſuaded however, that there will be ſome novelty perceived in theſe. They are not written with that partial Spirit, which muſt everlaſtingly accompany the Thoughts and Words of a Man, writing in favour of his Country, pleading her cauſe, or inflaming his Readers againſt her real or ſuppoſed Enemies. The Indifference of a Stranger, tho' it does not place our Complaints in the ſtrongeſt, yet ſurely it ſets them in the trueſt light. We may admire the Spirit and Vivacity, the Zeal and Eloquence, of an injured *Briton*, declaiming againſt the Injuſtice and Inſolence of *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's:* but in point of Evidence, an unconcerned, unbiaſſed Witneſs, is preferable to a warm one; and a Stranger is ſeldom ſuſpected of favouring one ſide more than the other.

Beſides, in theſe ſhort Diſcourſes, there are ſome

curious points of Hiſtory touched, and not a few political Hints thrown out which will give ſatisfaction to a penetrating Peruſer. Theſe might have been made clearer and more ſtriking by ſhort Notes; yet we have been ſparing in that particular, for the ſame Reaſon that *Tacitus* had no Commentators in his own times, leſt the Gloſs might be conſtrued unpardonable, while the Original was held praiſeworthy. There is, in ſhort, a time for all Things, and if I am not much miſtaken, this is the proper time for ſending abroad theſe Diſcourſes, which otherwiſe might never have ſeen the Light. Men born in other Countries, rarely run into the Foible of Parties, when they ſettle for a time here; they are therefore the beſt Judges of our general Intereſts, and their Obſervations are always uſeful, though their Counſels may be ſometimes inexpedient.

TO * * * * * * *.

On the BALANCE of Power, &c.

'THO' it muſt be owned that theſe Phraſes, 'the Balance of Power, and the Balance of 'Europe, are now become ſo common as to be ſome-'times very oddly applied; yet amongſt Men of 'Senſe and Knowledge, they will be always regarded 'as moſt ſignificant terms, and be eſteemed points 'worthy of the moſt ſerious Attention. We ſay 'in common Diſcourſe, to balance Accounts, by 'which we mean to make them even; and thus 'the ſame expreſſion, in much the ſame Senſe, crept 'into Politicks, and was applied to the Art requi-'ſite for preſerving the *European* States indepen-'dant,

dant, by forming Confederacies againſt any Po-
‘ tentate or Commonwealth, formidable by its Pow-
‘ er and Conduct towards many of its Neighbours.

‘ There was an Inſtance of this ſo long ago as
‘ 1508, in the famous League of *Cambray*. The
‘ Emperor *Maximilian*, *Lewis* XII King of *France*,
‘ *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* &c. united in order
‘ to humble the *Venetians*; this they did effectually,
‘ and ſince then there have been many grand Alli-
‘ ances on the ſame Plan. It is well obſerved by
‘ *Paulo Paruta*, that the true Reaſon why ſince the
‘ Decay of the *Roman* Empire none other has ſuc-
‘ ceeded, is this Notion of Balancing becoming a
‘ Political Maxim. It may indeed be objected, that
‘ tho' this Practice hath reſtrained Chriſtian Powers
‘ within juſt Bounds, it has been but too favourable
‘ to the *Turks*. Yet this I think is pretty well over;
‘ and whatever advantages the Sultan ſhall get
‘ hereafter, muſt be the reſult of the diſſolved Con-
‘ ſtitution of the *Poles*, or inteſtine Diviſions a-
‘ mongſt the *Ruſſians*. Nay, in this Caſe his Con-
‘ queſts might be fatal, it would probably open the
‘ Eyes of ſome Princes, and enable them to ſee that
‘ the Liberty of others is the beſt Barrier to their own.

‘ To fix the Balance of Power in *Europe*, atten-
‘ tion muſt be paid to the inferiour Balances elſe-
‘ where. For example, the Scales muſt be kept
‘ even in the North; that is to ſay, *Ruſſia*, *Sweden*,
‘ and *Denmark* muſt be maintained in a ſtate of In-
‘ dependancy, and as far as may be in a ſtate of Qui-
‘ et. This highly imports all *Europe* for many rea-
‘ ſons, eſpecially for two. Firſt becauſe in time of
‘ Peace each of their Powers thrives, a thing bene-
‘ ficial to the common Cauſe of *Chriſtendom*, and
‘ which raiſes an impregnable Line of Defence a-
‘ gainſt all the *Aſiatick* Powers, *Turks*, *Perſians*, and
‘ *Tartars*, all of whom in times paſt have inſulted
‘ *Europe*. Secondly, Becauſe if any one of theſe

'Monarchs ſhould conquer another, he would quick-
'ly reduce the third; and thereby have all *Europe*
'in a manner at his Mercy. In order to form a
'juſt Idea of this matter, we need only call to mind
'the Projects of *Charles* XII and *Peter* the Great,
'and we ſhall not doubt that a Balance in the North
'deſerves thought.

'In the next place, the Balance in *Italy* claims our
'notice. Every body knows this noble Country is
'cantoned out amongſt many Princes and free States.
'It is certain that if any one Prince was abſolutely
'Lord of all, he would be extreamly formidable,
'and have it in his Power to humble other *Eu-*
'*ropean* Powers, thoſe ſtiled Maritime particularly.
'However, the watching over the Balance ought not
'to extend, as ſome would have it, to hinder Princes
'from reviving Trade and Induſtry in their Do-
'minions; for theſe things belong to Mankind of
'common Right, and it is equally impolitick,
'injuſt, and impious, to tie up Men's hands from
'receiving the Gifts of Providence. Such Prohi-
'bitions are the narrow Schemes of bungling Po-
'liticians who live upon Expedients, and rather
'than attempt to cope with others would have
'them tied and chained, tho' they having them
'in this Condition would, in the End, prove preju-
'dicial to themſelves. The flouriſhing of parti-
'cular States is for the common Good of *Europe*.

'The Balance between the two great Families
'of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon* hath in theſe two laſt Cen-
'turies occupied the third Place, and ſomething of
'that ſort muſt be taken care of ſtill. The Trea-
'ty of *Vienna*, the ſo much decried Treaty of *Vi-*
'*enna*, was by ſome Coſmopolitan Stateſmen
'thought a Maſter-piece in its kind; and if ſome
'who oppoſed it, had weighed it maturely, they
'would have diſcerned that it ſupplied the Defects
'of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and fix'd this Balance

'in

'in the juſteſt Proportion. But theſe will be 'thought Chimæra's; however, let me add another, 'that by overturning that Alliance, there are none 'left but theſe two ways of fixing this Balance a-'gain, *viz.* relying on the Moderation of *France*, 'or renewing the Grand Alliance. The firſt is the 'eaſieſt, and if an old Prieſt were immortal, the 'ſureſt Way. But the latter ſeems to agree beſt 'with the common Methods in uſe among Poli-'ticians.

'I might add to theſe, the Balance of Power in '*Germany*, which grows every day a more and 'more important Affair; but I content myſelf 'with well known and generally acknowledged 'Principles, that my Deductions may be the leſs li-'able to diſpute; therefore forbearing this, and o-'mitting the Religious Balance between Papiſts and 'Proteſtants, I haſten to obſerve that a due Re-'gard to theſe Points is what may be properly call-'ed the Balance of Power in *Europe*. This ought 'to be the firſt and principal Care of all Princes 'and States, becauſe their very Being depends up-'on it. But as we ſhall be ſeldom right if we 'conclude that Men do ſuch things, and ſuch things 'only, as they ought to do; ſo Experience as well 'as Reaſon will enable us to perceive that ſome one 'Power or other generally hinders the reſt from 'going wrong, and this Power is ſaid, I think 'not without cauſe, to hold the Balance. A moſt 'honourable, a moſt laudable Office ſurely!

'If we ſuffer ourſelves to be governed by Ap-'pearances, then we ſhould for a long Series of 'Years paſt, ſuppoſe that *Holland* held the Balance: 'moſt of the Negotiations affecting the Balance of 'Power, having been in part or in the whole tranſ-'acted at the *Hague*. But tho' it is certain that 'the Republick has a greater Intereſt in preſerving 'the Balance than any other Power, her own Ex-

'iſtence depending immediately thereon; ſo that any
'the ſlighteſt Alteration preſently affects her Con-
'cerns, yet can ſhe not be truly ſaid to hold the Ba-
'lance of *Europe*, or if ſhe does, it is but Miniſte-
'rially, and as it were *ex Officio*, while other Powers
'trim the Scales. Quick-ſighted Politicians have
'found out this long ago, and made their uſes of it,
'making *Hague* Negotiations ſerve as Sanctions to
'their Deſigns, preſuming on Popular Opinion,
'and that Reſerve or impenetrable Secrecy which
'Miniſters uſually and with good Reaſon keep.
'For if the Springs of Government were viſible
'to all, the great Machine would roll but heavily
'on.

'Of all the *European* Powers, *France* moſt af-
'fects this Office, and is by moſt other Powers
'held the leaſt fit to manage it. As the *Dutch* have
'not Strength enough to hold the Balance ſteady,
'which makes other Nations leſs afraid of them;
'ſo the prodigious Power of *France* demonſtrated
'by the laſt general War, and augmented by ſo
'long a Peace, terrifies many States, and makes
'them imagine the Balance cannot be preſerved
'unleſs it is kept out of her Hands. The Deſire
'manifeſted by *Lewis* XIV. to have the Scales al-
'ways under his Eye, countenanced what his E-
'nemies warmly gave out, that he aimed at uni-
'verſal Monarchy. However falſe in the Senſe
'it was taken, this Suggeſtion might be, it con-
'tributed not a little to the fixing the Balance of
'*Europe*, which, as it was beſt underſtood, ſo it
'was moſt warmly purſued by *William* the Third,
'a Prince equal to any of his Cotemporaries in the
'Field, and who was ſuperior to them all in the
'Cabinet. His Views were generous and exten-
'ſive, free from thoſe Taints of Paſſion which too
'often poiſon even the Deſigns of Heroes, and he
'thought ſo well and acted ſo firmly, that I have

'known

known zealous *Jacobites* adore his Capacity, though they liked not his Title.

'Under his Reign it appeared even to the minor Politicians, for Men of Experience knew it long before, that holding this Balance beſt became the Hand of *Great Britain*'s Sovereign, becauſe there the reſt of *Europe*'s Powers have all things to hope and nothing to apprehend. It is the Intereſt of *Great Britain* to prevent the extravagant growth of any Power, becauſe ſuch an acceſſion of Authority would be prejudicial to Trade, the tendereſt Concern of the Inhabitants of that Iſland. Yet if any great Alteration ſhould happen, *Great Britain* would not feel its Effects ſo ſoon as many other States, and therefore would have greater Courage and more Force to ſtruggle for its Re-eſtabliſhment. The Strength of *Britain*, tho' inexhauſtible, is not dreadful to its Neighbours, becauſe ſhe is always quiet till ſhe is injured, and can gain nothing by her Conqueſts, the Foundation of her Power lying in her happy Situation, which ſeems removed from the Continent, that her Monarch might be the Arbiter of all Differences happening thereon. Compliments are irreconcileable to Politicks, I ſpeak this in deference to Truth, and not out of Complaiſance for the *Britiſh* Nation. They do not ſtand in need of Flattery, becauſe they are really greater than I deſcribe them, and yet I think not a jot greater than they are pleaſed to think themſelves.

'*Henry* VII. King of *England*, poſſeſſed only a part of *Britain*. His Titles to the Crown were many, ſome however contrary to others, and the beſt I think hard to be underſtood. He was vexed with ſucceſſive Plots, ſubdued many Rebellions, and had a Diſpoſition in many reſpects not grateful to his Subjects. Yet this Prince had both the Wiſdom and the Courage to hold the

'Balance

'Balance of *Europe*, and to make himſelf reſpected
'by all its Potentates. His Miniſters meddled in
'all Negotiations, he took upon him to mediate
'in all Diſputes, and at length the Princes of *Eu-*
'*rope* applied to him as a *Solomon*, whom ſuperiour
'Wiſdom juſtly entitled to ſuperiour Authority.
'Yet the Princes of that Time were great Politi-
'cians, governed by their own Lights, and were
'the Maſters, not the Inſtruments of their Miniſters.
'Nay, amongſt thoſe who courted *Henry* moſt, was
'*Ferdinand*, the Catholick King of *Arragon* and
'*Caſtile*, a Monarch whoſe Prudence was only
'equall'd by his Fortune, who erected the *Spaniſh*
'Empire, and drove the *Moors* back into *Africk*.

'The Conduct of his Succeſſor *Henry* VIII. was
'more heroick, tho' it favoured leſs of the Politi-
'cian; he was a Man of high Spirit, and a Prince
'of very pregnant Parts. He affected abſolute
'Authority at home, and making great Acqui-
'ſitions abroad. Maxims irreconcileable to the
'general or particular Intereſts of *Britain*. But
'notwithſtanding all this, he held the Balance, and
'held it by foul Means as well as fair. His Beha-
'viour had certainly many Blemiſhes, but he did
'not bluſter without drawing his Sword, or boaſt
'of performing more than he could do. His love
'of Magnificence, and too great a ſenſibility of
'that Superiority he had over other Princes, led
'him into an Expence which hurt his People; but
'he preſerved the Reputation of his Crown to the
'laſt, and died more beloved by his Subjects, and
'more feared by the reſt of *Europe* than any Prince
'in that Age. Throughout the greateſt part of
'theſe long Reigns, and in the moſt ſtirring Times,
'theſe two *Engliſh* Kings were Maſters of the Fate
'of *Chriſtendom*, and ſet up, and pulled down o-
'ther Princes as they pleaſed.

'The

' The Minority which enſued on the Death of *Henry* VIII, did not prove more fatal to *England* ' than to *Europe*. The Balance was immediately ' loſt, and the Houſe of *Auſtria* not only purſued ' univerſal Monarchy more openly, but alſo with ' greater Appearance of ſucceeding than any other ' Power before or ſince. *England* became a part ' of their Conqueſts, by that Method whereby they ' gained almoſt all; I mean, by the Intervention of ' a Marriage. This exorbitant growth of Power ' was the Cauſe of great and general Calamities. ' In *Germany* a Spirit of Liberty appeared, which ' grew ſtronger and ſtronger, notwithſtanding the ' mighty Efforts made to cruſh it. The Progreſs ' of Learning occaſioned the true Principles of Po- ' licy to be more generally underſtood, and by de- ' grees an Alliance was formed, which checked the ' Progreſs of the *Auſtrian* Greatneſs when it was ' leaſt expected. But I will venture to affirm all ' this would have been prevented, if there had ' been an active King on the *Engliſh* Throne, or ' even if Queen *Mary* had married any other Prince ' than *Philip* II.

' After the reſettling the *Engliſh* Government, ' Queen *Elizabeth* reſumed the Balance, and held ' it with prodigious Reputation. I am no Judge ' of her Domeſtick Conduct; but as the Arbiter ' of *Europe*, I will be bold to ſay, ſhe acted with ' the utmoſt Prudence. She gave Liberty to the ' *Hollanders*, ſhe protected *France*, ſhe humbled ' the mighty *Philip* II. the beſt qualified Prince for ' the Attempt of all who have ever aim'd at Univer- ' ſal Monarchy. She was ſo good a Judge of her ' own Intereſts and of thoſe of her Neighbours, that ' we may conſider all the Steps taken by her as ſo ' many Leſſons left to Poſterity, which may de- ' liver us from any fear of acting amiſs, if we will ' be but prudent enough to follow thoſe Directions.

' *Perez*

'*Perez* the *Spaniſh* Miniſter fled hither in her time, 'and was careſſed by the Earl of *Eſſex*, but the 'Queen diſdain'd to draw from him his Maſter's 'Secrets. She conceived this diſhonourable in one 'Prince towards another, and generouſly choſe to 'rely on her own Wiſdom rather than pick up 'ſuch ſecret Intelligence.

'They are much beſide the Truth who fancy 'that the *Engliſh* Stateſmen failed with her Reign, 'and that the Nation has been duped ever ſince in 'Negotiation. Sir *William Temple* was a very 'great Miniſter, and the Alliance he negotiated in '*Holland* put the Balance once more into his Ma-'ſter's Hands, if he had been at leiſure to hold it. 'But his Indolence hinder'd him from being what 'his Capacity certainly fitted him for, the Director 'of this part of the World; and rather than he 'would take the pains to be the firſt, he ſubmitted '(and yet could not be quiet) to be one of the laſt 'Princes in *Europe*. His Brother loſt his Kingdoms 'thro' want of Ambition in this Particular. He 'became the Creature of *Lewis* XIV. when he might 'have been his Superiour. Had he thrown him-'ſelf into the oppoſite Scale, had he declared, as 'he ought to have done, roundly againſt *France*, 'he would have been admired and courted at 'home and abroad notwithſtanding his Religion.

'Wherever any Influence is neceſſary to bound 'new riſen Powers, *Britain* can immediately 'apply it. She has often ſtill'd Commotions in 'the *North*, by the bare Appearance of a Fleet. 'She ſaved the Empire, by ſending her Forces to 'the *Rhine*; ſhe chaſtiſed *Spain*, by the memorable 'Blow at *Meſſina*. This ſhews how well ſhe is 'qualified for this important Truſt, and how eaſy 'it is for her to ſecure her own Tranquillity and 'that of all her Neighbours. It is indeed what '*Europe* expects from her, and you may plainly

'ſee

'ſee, if you give the ſmalleſt Attention, that if '*Great Britain* does not hold the Ballance, ſhe 'cannot be ſafe. She is in the Situation that *A-*'*thens* was in, with reſpect to *Greece*; her Power 'is ſufficient to make her reverenc'd, and if ſhe 'does not exert it to this End, her Humility will 'not prevent her being envied. I could eaſily ex-'plain this to the Satisfaction of the meaneſt Un-'derſtanding. But ſuch an Explanation is need-'leſs, where Experience juſtifies the Fact.

'It is not only the Intereſt of *Britiſh* Monarchs 'to hold the Balance, in order to ſecure them-'ſelves from any Trouble in foreign Affairs, but it 'is alſo the ſureſt means of procuring them Do-'meſtick Quiet. The *Britiſh* People in general 'judge extreamly well of their own Intereſts, and 'think it an Honour to pay their Duty to a King 'who is courted by his Neighbours. They love 'to ſee their Court crouded with foreign Miniſters, 'to relieve Princes in Diſtreſs, and to ſave ſink-'ing States. But above all, it gives them pleaſure 'to pull down proud Oppreſſors, and to humble 'ſuch haughty Princes as endeavour to give Law 'to their Neighbours, and make uſe of their Pro-'ſperity to make others miſerable. This ſhocks 'that generous Love of Liberty which is the Cha-'racteriſtic of the *Britons*, and determines them 'Enemies to ſuch as behave themſelves like Ene-'mies to Mankind. We have had recent Ex-'amples of this, eſpecially in regard to the laſt 'Grand Alliance, in which *Great Britain* ſhewed 'ſuch Spirit, and her Stateſmen and Generals ſuch 'conſummate Prudence, and ſuch matchleſs Abi-'lities as the Memory thereof nothing but exceſſive 'Weakneſs can efface.

'On the whole, I think you muſt be thoroughly 'convinced, that a Project for placing, or rather 'replacing, the Balance of Power in the Hands of

'*Great*

'*Great Britain*, can never be looked upon as Chi-
'merical in its Nature, or improper in point of
'Time. I perſuade myſelf none in that Country
'who underſtand its Intereſts, and are willing to
'promote them, can think ſo. Should I find the
'contrary, I own it would ſurprize me; I ſhould
'imagine that Virtue had followed Juſtice, and
'that nothing but Luxury and Violence were left
'to poſſeſs the Earth.'

There is no certainty that any uſe was ever made of this Paper, tho' there are two Copies of it; one ſomewhat inlarged, as if it were the Effects of ſecond Thoughts, and both very fair. The warmth of ſome Expreſſions ſhews how near this matter lay to the Author's Heart; and as to this Publication, I preſume it will not offend the Publick, who ſeem rather to approve than diſcountenance ſuch Notions. The next Paper was I imagine drawn up in order to account for the Delays and Difficulties, the Airs of Grandeur and Importance, that a Miniſter is ſure to meet with who negotiates at the Court of *Madrid*. It had its uſes then; is entertaining now; and may have its uſes again, which was the Reaſon of giving it a Place in this Appendix.

Of the NATURAL DISADVANTAGES in the *Spaniſh* Government.

'THE Enemies of the *Houſe* of *Bourbon* give 'out, that the whole Syſtem of Affairs in 'Spain is entirely chang'd, ſince the Acceſſion of 'that Family to the Throne; that all Things now 'follow the *French* Mode, and that therefore ſuch 'Potentates, as have any thing to do with this Court 'ought to conſider things in this Light. And yet 'certainly, if they do, they will be deceiv'd. 'The Temper of the *Spaniards* is like the Laws of the 'Medes and *Perſians*, It altereth never; and they 'who would carry any Point with this Nation, muſt 'go over to them. Indeed it is ridiculous to fancy 'that Men change their Mode of thinking as eaſily 'as they do their Clothes; or that becauſe ſome 'few *French* Cuſtoms may be introduced at Court, 'therefore there is an entire Revolution in the Peo-'ple's Manners. During the War in *Spain*, there 'might be a great Prevalence of *French* Cuſtoms, 'by reaſon of the great Number of Officers which 'were at Court; but ſince then, Things are mightily 'chang'd; the old *Spaniſh* Cuſtoms are revived, 'and Things are running, as faſt as can be, into 'their ancient Channel. Hence it will follow, that 'Strangers will meet with worſe Treatment than 'ever; and that the *Hiſpanioliz'd* Branch of the 'Houſe of *Bourbon* will be far more untractable than 'the other.

'This

'This will be the more eaſily underſtood, if we 'call to mind the Alteration wrought in the *Houſe* 'of *Auſtria*; they came Strangers into *Spain*, as 'well as the *Houſe* of *Bourbon*; and at firſt, ſhewed 'far leſs Inclination to embrace their Manners. '*Charles* V. govern'd deſpotically, from the Moment 'the Government was put into his Hands, he 'brought his *Flemings* into all Places of Truſt and 'Profit; broke the Heart of an able *Spaniſh* Mini-'ſter, and drove his new Subjects into a Rebellion. 'Yet the Son of this Man became abſolutely a '*Spaniard*, and all his Deſcendants continued ſo; 'nay, they outdid all other *Spaniards* in Solemnity 'of Behaviour, and Exactneſs in their Conduct.

'When *Philip* the Fifth came into *Spain*, it was 'his Intereſt to give as much as poſſible into the '*Spaniſh* Cuſtoms, and he did ſo. But his Queen 'carried the thing much farther; ſhe had the natural 'Sagacity of her Family, and one may ſafely ſay 'that her feminine Arts contributed, as much as 'his Grandfather's Arms, towards the fixing her 'Huſband on the Throne. She convers'd entirely 'with *Spaniſh* Ladies, ſhe not only comply'd with, 'but commended all their Cuſtoms; ſhe carried the 'thing ſo far as to be a declared Enemy to all 'Strangers, and ſhe impreſſed the ſame Notions up-'on her Children. As ſhe governed ſome time 'in the Abſence of the King, her Behaviour had 'mighty Effects upon the People. Few of their 'Queens had been ſo well known to them, and 'none of them condeſcended to give ſo much into 'their Humour. We need not therefore be ſur-'prized, that this Change of the Royal Family 'hath not wrought a Change either in the People, 'or in the Meaſures of the Court. To ſpeak the 'Truth, it is impoſſible. The *Spaniards* are ſo 'firm, that Strangers, to avoid ridicule, are forced 'to adopt their moſt ridiculous Cuſtoms; inſo-

'much

'much that five and twenty Years Reſidence in 'Spain, ſo effectually changes not only a Man's 'Mien, but his Mind, that if he is not a *Spaniard*, 'he is at leaſt of no other Country; he retains no-'thing of the *French* or the *Engliſhman*, he is ſlow, 'haughty, revengeful, and ſo like a Native, that 'no other Nation will care to own him.

'I do not pretend that the *French Court* may not 'ſometimes have an Aſcendancy over the *Spaniſh* '*Miniſtry*, as heretofore great Regard was paid to 'the Councils of *Vienna* by the Miniſters of the *Au-*'*ſtrian* Kings of *Spain*; but ſtill the Bulk of Buſi-'neſs will be carried on by *Spaniards*, and upon '*Spaniſh* Maxims. Theſe will keep things in one 'conſtant Channel, and in ſuch a train of Manage-'ment, that unleſs thoſe who negotiate with this 'Court counteract them with equal ſteadineſs, 'they will infallibly be baffled. For on this ſingle 'Maxim of purſuing ſteadily its original Intention, 'the Policy of *Spain* hath been built, ever ſince 'the time of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*. This ſome 'People call Wiſdom, and ſometimes it may have 'had the Effect of Wiſdom, but this is only when 'they have to deal with thoſe who will ſuffer them-'ſelves to be cheated with Promiſes, or frighted 'with Threats.

'We have an Inſtance of this in the Reign of the 'laſt King of *Spain*, of the *Auſtrian* Line *Charles* II. 'In the Year 1678, the *Spaniards* made Peace with '*France*, which is commonly called the Treaty of *Ni-*'*megueen*; but notwithſtanding this, the Subjects of '*Spain* committed extravagant Diſorders on the 'Frontiers of *Biſcay*, robbing not only Paſſengers, 'but plundering Farms and Villages, taking Barks 'when they entered their Ports, and in ſhort, com-'mitting as great Hoſtilities as if there had been 'ſtill an open War. Of this the *French* Miniſter com-'plained over and over, but to no manner of pur-

'poſe; *England* and *Holland* were at that time 'jealous of the *French* Power; the *Spaniards* thought 'themſelves ſure of aſſiſtance in caſe they were at-'tacked, and contented themſelves with ſending 'now and then a Commiſſary to the *French* Frontiers, 'who was ordered to do nothing. At length after 'ſeveral Years forbearance, the *French* King in '1680, ſent ſome armed Veſſels to cruize in the 'Mouth of the *Bidaſſoa*, whereby the Inhabitants 'of *Fontarabia* were hindred from Fiſhing. This 'producing no good, the Veſſels retired for ſome 'days, and returning ſuddenly carried off ſeveral 'Barks, and ſent the Fiſhermen who were in them 'Priſoners to *Bayonne*. The *Spaniſh* Miniſters re-'preſented to their Allies, that this was a direct 'Infraction of the Treaty, but the *French* Miniſters 'ſtopt their mouths by a Memorial, wherein they 'aſſerted his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's readineſs to 'paſs by all that was paſt, and to reſtore the Barks 'with thoſe who were taken on board them, pro-'vided the Catholick King would immediately ex-'ecute the Treaty on his part, by ſending Com-'miſſaries to regulate and ſettle the Frontiers ac-'cording to the Stipulations in the *Pyrenean* Treaty. 'Thus this Affair ended, which probably would 'have ſubſiſted many Years longer if theſe quick 'Steps had not been taken.

'Another Maxim of the *Spaniſh* Policy, is, That 'for Reaſons of State the King, or at leaſt his Mi-'niſters, may break their Words, or commit any 'little Irregularity of that ſort without prejudice 'to their *Spaniſh* Honour. In the War between '*France* and *Spain*, which was terminated by the 'Peace of *Nimeguen* before mentioned, the *Elec-'tor* of *Brandenburg* had furniſh'd his *Catholick 'Majeſty* with a conſiderable Body of Troops, with-'out which Supply, he could ſcarce have kept what 'ſtill remained to him of the Low Countries. On

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'account of the Subſidies ſtipulated for the Service
'of theſe Troops there remained due to the Elector,
'upwards of Eight hundred and fifty thouſand Pieces
'of Eight. After many Months Solicitation, the
'Elector's Miniſter was put off with Aſſignments
'on the *Galleons*, which were ſhortly expected at
'*Seville*. But when he came to tender them, he
'found there were previous Orders from Court, that
'he ſhould not receive ſo much as a ſingle Piece of
'Eight. On his return to *Madrid*, he made very
'warm Repreſentations as well on account of his
'Treatment, as with reſpect to his Maſter's Debt.
'The Miniſtry offered him Bills payable at *Bruſſels*,
'and after all would have given him thirty thou-
'ſand Crowns in ready Money; at which Propo-
'ſal loſing all Patience, he produced an Order from
'his Maſter, commanding him to retire in ten days
'in caſe he did not receive full Satisfaction. Ac-
'cordingly at the Expiration of that time, he did
'retire with abundance of Menaces, after ſhewing
'a Letter from the Elector, wherein he treated the
'*Spaniſh* Miniſtry in very coarſe Language. The
'Miniſters were glad to be rid of him, and with-
'out conſidering how ſcandalouſly they had ſacri-
'ficed his Intereſts in their late Treaty, they flat-
'tered themſelves, he could only revenge himſelf
'by Words, on account of the Situation of his Ter-
'ritories. But they were quickly convinced of
'their Miſtake; for the Elector, who was a Prince
'of Spirit, ordered ſix Frigates to be fitted out,
'which he ſent to *Oſtend*, where they carried out
'of the Road a Ship belonging to the King of *Spain*
'ready to ſail to *Cadiz*, with Effects on board to
'the Value of three hundred thouſand Crowns. The
'Court of *Madrid* were exceſſively piqued, at
'which the Elector gave himſelf very little pain;
'however, at the requeſt of the Ambaſſadors of *Eng-*
'*land* and *Holland*, he gave three Months time for

'the Payment of his Debt, which elapſed; he ſold the 'Ship and Cargo, and applied the Money towards 'Payment of his Demand. In the mean time the '*Spaniſh* Court, to preſerve its Honour, declared 'to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters, that his Ca-'tholick Majeſty would enter into no Treaty, until 'the Ship and Cargo was previouſly reſtored.

'A Man might fill a Book with Inſtances of this 'ſort, but one is as good as a hundred, to ſhew the 'Temper of this Court, which is, and ever will be 'the ſame.

'Such Maxims as theſe muſt neceſſarily produce 'everlaſting Diſorders, and tho' now and then 'ſome ſeeming Advantages may be drawn from 'their Conſequences, yet cannot they countervail 'a tenth part of the Miſchiefs they occaſion. Nei-'ther ought we to aſcribe ſuch Notions as theſe 'to the Wiſdom, but to the Humour of a Nation. 'Wiſdom is the ſame in all Ages, and in all 'Countries, but Humour differs according both 'to the Place and to the Time. Cardinal *del Giu-'dice* uſed to ſpend three or four hours in an Af-'ternoon at Cards, while all the Affairs of the '*Spaniſh* Nation were in the utmoſt Confuſion. I 'wonder ſome Court-Flatterer never took it into 'his Head to call this a piece of State Policy; 'doubtleſs as many Arguments might be offered 'in favour of it, as of the reſt. The *Spaniards* 'are naturally lazy, arrogant and unjuſt; their 'Stateſmen bring theſe good Qualities into the 'Management of publick Affairs, and thus thoſe 'Sycophants who ſwarm in Courts, like Flies at 'the Shambles, pretend to impoſe on the Common 'Senſe of Mankind, and to paſs on us the baſeſt 'Vices, for a new-faſhion'd ſort of Prudence. 'Whenever the *Spaniſh* Nobility change their Man-'ner of living, when they ceaſe to look upon going 'out of *Spain* as a kind of Baniſhment, or to be-

'lieve

'lieve that taking a proper care of their own E-
'ſtates is conſiſtent with their Quality; Foreign
'Miniſters may hope a Change in their Manner of
'negotiating, but till then it would be Madneſs to
'expect it. Theſe are natural Diſadvantages, and
'Impediments under which the *Spaniſh* Councils
'labour, and Men of great Abilities, and of un-
'ſhaken Integrity, will know how to make a right
'uſe of them. A Miniſter who has a clear Head
'and a ſound Heart will never fail of carrying his
'point at the Court of *Madrid*; whereas a new
'Man, with looſe Ideas and no Principles, will
'make a worſe figure there than any where elſe:
'Becauſe the *Spaniſh* Miniſters will have Addreſs
'enough to render him accountable for his own
'Faults, and theirs too.

'Hence we may ſafely gather, that in treating with
'the Court of *Madrid*, the ſureſt Method is to ſettle
'a reaſonable Plan, to inſiſt ſteadily upon every
'Article, and not to ſuffer the Execution of them
'to be delay'd upon any Terms. All Civility, all
'Complaiſance, paſſes with the *Spaniards* for want
'of Courage, and it muſt neceſſarily do ſo; while
'in their own Conduct they miſtake Obſtinacy for
'Fortitude. To abate any thing to this People,
'inſtead of advancing a Negotiation is the way to
'embarraſs it. To quicken *Spaniards* whenever
'they raiſe one Difficulty, you muſt ſtart two.
'Sharp Uſage, and a quick Reſentment of Injuries,
'are with them indubitable Marks of a Man of
'Honour; a Nation therefore that bears with
'them, may be undone by them. But whoever
'makes Reprizals, is ſure to be redreſſed and re-
'vered. Since this is the Nature of the Men, o-
'ther Men muſt be content to act with them ac-
'cording to their Nature, and not according to the
'ſtrict Rules either of good Policy or of good
'Breeding. Theſe they are ſure to diſpenſe with,

'when the Interest of the King requires it, and in 'publick Affairs we are not bound to give more 'than we receive. The favourite Designs at pre- 'sent in the *Spanish* Court, are the re-annexing to 'the Crown whatever was dismembered from it by 'the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the *Netherlands* only ex- 'cepted. As to her Projects in the new World, 'they are visibly the old Projects of maintaining 'an absolute Sovereignty there; and therefore this 'is a clear Proof that there is no alteration in the '*Spanish* Measures, but that they act as near as 'may be by their old Rules.

'Tho' this may be, and certainly is grateful to 'their Humour, yet it is most destructive of their 'Interest. For this Pride of domineering over 'many Countries, first exhausted the Strength, 'and must always hinder the recruiting of the Na- 'tion's Vigour. If the *Spanish* Ministers would 'contract their Designs for a time, and put their 'domestick Affairs in order, they might hereafter 'execute some of their darling Projects, to the Ad- 'vantage of the Monarchy. But of this there are 'no hopes. All Ministers of State act with a view 'either to their own Interests or their Glory. 'Now no *Spanish* Minister could ever find it his In- 'terest to reform the Disorders that have crept in- 'to the Administration, because it would put him 'at once upon ill Terms with all degrees of 'People, and, however upright his Intentions 'might be, would not fail to subject him to the se- 'verest Reproaches; and if he had Virtue enough 'to stand all this, it would produce nothing, the 'very Texture of the *Spanish* Government giving 'such Authority to certain Tribunals, that without 'a general Reformation, which must be wrought by 'Miracle, his Scheme would prove abortive and 'his Power short-lived.

'On

'On the other hand, a Miniſter who aims at 'Glory, will always be for Actions of Eclât rather 'than Projects of this ſort; which tho' they benefit 'many, are thoroughly underſtood, and properly 'eſteemed only by a few. A vain-glorious Mi-'niſter will always follow popular Humour, and of 'courſe ſuch a Miniſter in *Spain* will have nothing 'in view which is not perfectly conſiſtent with '*Spaniſh* Ideas of Reputation. We have an In-'ſtance of this in the famous Cardinal *Alberoni*, 'who was for putting himſelf at the head of 'the *Spaniſh* Army, and perſuaded himſelf that he 'had Intereſt enough to bring over the greateſt 'part of the *French* Troops under the *Marſhal Ber-'wick*. And when in conſequence of his Efforts 'there came little Bodies, ſome of twenty, ſome 'of thirty Men to the *Spaniſh* Camp, he ſaid with 'a haughty Air, What ſignifies this? my Maſter 'expected you ſhould have brought your Colours 'and Standards, and come by whole Regiments 'to range yourſelves under his Banners. I men-'tion this, to ſhew the Infectiouſneſs of the *Spa-'niſh* Humour, and how ſtrangely it alters a Man 'covetous of Glory.

'In all other Courts gaining time is a thing of 'Importance, but in Negotiations with *Spain*, it 'is never beneficial to Strangers; the longer the 'Miniſtry in that Country treat, the higher their 'Demands will grow; and whoever looks into 'Hiſtory will obſerve, that all Treaties diſadvan-'tageous to *Spain* were tranſacted out of *Spain*. 'Indeed it is one of her Maxims, That when ſhe 'is compelled to grant any thing, it ſhall be done 'at a diſtance. Of this we have ſome recent Ex-'amples, ſuch as the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which 'tho' beneficial to King *Philip*, was by no means 'grateful to his Subjects; and the Acceſſion of this 'Prince to the *Quadruple Alliance*, which tho' it

'was beneficial to his People, did not at all pleaſe
'the King.

'Theſe are the principal, and I may call them
'the perpetual Diſadvantages that will occur in
'*Spaniſh* Negotiations. Thoſe who advert to them
'will be provided againſt them, and never ſuffer
'themſelves to be ſoftened either by fair Words or
'Threats. Such on the contrary as pique themſelves
'upon Management, and fancy they can find Ex-
'pedients ſatisfactory to both Parties, will be fa-
'tally convinced that they are able to pleaſe none,
'and after a tedious and trifling Courſe of Diſpu-
'tations and Wrangling, will be obliged to break
'off where they began, either to make room for
'a War, or for Men of greater Skill in the Art of
'concluding Peace.

Of

Of the CONSEQUENCES *of a* WAR *in* AMERICA.

'THE general Current of Opinion not only
'in *Spain*, but throughout all *Europe*, is
'directly contrary to mine; and yet I think mine
'founded on Reaſon. For this Cauſe I ſet it down
'in Writing, as a Teſtimony of my Sincerity;
'tho' others may interpret it a Mark of my Va-
'nity. However, be that as it will, my Judg-
'ment is, that the Diſcovery of the new World
'hath been the Ruin of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and
'this in many reſpects. It hath leſſen'd the Num-
'ber of People. There are more *Spaniards*, the
'Extent of Territory conſidered, in *New-Spain*
'than in *Old*. And as Multitudes died of conta-
'gious Diſeaſes, or were deſtroyed by War, when
'thoſe Countries were firſt diſcovered; ſo the
'*Spaniſh* Dominions in *Europe* feel now the Want
'of their Poſterity: Of all others the greateſt Want,
'and that which ſcarce any Policy can ſupply.
'It corrupted the Minds of the People, by put-
'ting it in the power of private Men to raiſe
'Eſtates ſuperior to their Condition. This is a
'Symptom of Ruin in all States; for where-ever
'many Subjects are diſcerned to be too rich, it
'may be concluded there are Multitudes too poor.
'Now Equality being the Eſſence of Liberty, by
'which, I mean that free Spirit that actuates every
'healthy Government; here is a plain Indication

'of

'of its Decay. Here is Reaſon and Experience, 'the former teaches, that in the Nature of Things, 'this Flow of Riches muſt be prejudicial to the 'People; and Experience demonſtrates that it 'hath been ſo. It hath altered the Frame of the 'Government; which few, even of the *Spaniards* 'themſelves, comprehend. For tho' the King of '*Spain* is not legally abſolute, as the King of *Den-*'*mark* is; yet his Miniſter by a proper Diſtribu-'tion of rich Places makes himſelf ſo: and while 'the *Danes* are only Slaves, as having made a 'Free-Gift of their Liberties, the haughty *Spani-*'*ards* are ſomething worſe, becauſe they have not 'ſo much as the Honour to ſerve their Prince; 'but are generally directed by one, ſo far from be-'ing better, that he is not ſo good as themſelves; 'and which is worſt of all, through long Habit 'this is become neceſſary; and it is much to be 'queſtioned whether the Government could be car-'ried on without it. It is the King's Power in the '*Weſt-Indies*, which has leſſen'd the Shipping and 'deſtroy'd the Trade of *Spain*. The *American* 'Commerce is a Matter of State; and Matters of 'State and Matters of Trade never agree; a Race 'of tricking Smugglers ſucceed thoſe magnanimous 'Merchants, who, like the ancient *Tyrians* and *Car-*'*thaginians*, became rich by their Induſtry, and 'lived like Princes in conſequence of the Wealth 'they had attained; which was at the ſame time 'an Acceſſion to the Stock of the Publick: The '*Galleons* and the *Flota* profit the Prince and Fo-'reigners, but they are the Ruin of true Commerce, 'and that Spirit which is neceſſary to ſupport a 'Naval Power. It is, in the laſt place, the great 'Cauſe why *Spain* muſt be dependent, in a man-'ner, on the Maritime Powers; for while all her 'Riches are brought from the *Weſt-Indies*, and 'while ſhe wants a Power to maintain the Sove-

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'reignty of the Seas; it muſt follow, that when-
'ever her Deſigns are repugnant to, or even with-
'out Cauſe diſliked by a Prince or State, more
'powerful at Sea, ſhe muſt with Shame give way,
'and be content with ſuch Terms as ſhall be pre-
'ſcribed her: as evidently appeared on the Fall of
'Cardinal *Alberoni*, which, together with the Ruin
'of all his great Schemes, were entirely owing to
'the Umbrage given by him to the King of *Great*
'*Britain*. On the Whole therefore, the *Spaniſh*
'Empire in *America* is the true Cauſe, why ſhe can
'never have any ſettled Empire in *Europe*.

'The Dominions poſſeſs'd by the *Engliſh* in thoſe
'Parts of the World, have quite a different Effect
'upon their Affairs. The Grandeur of their Na-
'tion, and of their Colonies, leaning on the ſame
'Principles, *Great Britain* will be always the moſt
'formidable Power in *Europe*, while her Subjects
'preſerve their Freedom and encreaſe their Trade.
'To both theſe Ends their Colonies exceedingly
'contribute, for the People are as free in them, or
'rather more ſo, than in their native Iſland. It is
'true that none of the *Engliſh* Colonies abound
'with rich Commodities; that is, in compariſon
'with thoſe of *Spain*; but this is their great Ad-
'vantage. The digging of Gold and Silver, is a
'ſickly and ſlaviſh Buſineſs; thoſe who enjoy the
'Profits of it, are proud, lazy and timorous: Where-
'as ſuch as cultivate Tobacco, raiſe Sugar-Canes,
'or plant Rice, are ſtrong, robuſt People; and as
'their Commodities are bulky, ſo the tranſport-
'ing of them occaſions an Encreaſe of Shipping,
'which is annually very conſiderable. Hence it is
'evident, that in proportion as the *Spaniſh* Colo-
'nies flouriſh, the real Power of *Spain* muſt de-
'creaſe: Whereas the Encreaſe of the *Engliſh* Co-
'lonies is the Encreaſe of the *Engliſh* Power; and
'every Man knows, that if you take out of one

'Scale,

'Scale, and at the ſame time add to the Weight 'in the other, the Balance will be ſpeedily and ir-'recoverably loſt.

'Theſe Things conſidered, we ſhall come to have 'a right Notion of the Intereſt of both Crowns, with 'reſpect to the Commerce between their Subjects 'in theſe Parts, which when maturely weigh'd will 'be found according to the received Maxims of 'the *Spaniſh* Court, to be diametrically oppoſite, 'but according to the Rules of right Reaſon exactly 'the ſame.

'The *Spaniards* make it the principal Point of 'their Policy to exclude all *Europeans* from Trading 'in their Dominions in theſe Parts; and to this, 'according to the Laws of Nature and of Nations, 'they have indubitable Right. The Diſorders that 'were committed in the laſt Century by the *Buc-'caniers*; who were a lawleſs Rabble, compoſed 'of all Nations, commiſſioned generally by the '*French*, and too much encouraged by the *Eng-'liſh*; I ſay, the Depredations committed by theſe 'Fellows, gave a Pretence to the *Spaniards* to fit 'out Ships of Force for the protecting of their 'Coaſts; a Circumſtance which encouraged their Go-'vernours to turn theſe very Ships into Privateers, 'and to man them with *Spaniſh* Buccaniers, which 'inſtead of curing has increaſed the Evil. The 'preventing an illicit Trade, by the Cruiſing of 'theſe Ships is impracticable, tho' for defending 'the Coaſt, they might be very uſeful; and this is 'render'd the more apparent by the Succeſs of the '*Dutch* Smugglers, who trade for greater Sums, 'and with a more open Appearance of Force, than 'any of the *Engliſh* Smugglers do. But after all 'there are two Kinds of illicit Trade carried on, 'in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*; the one ſo neceſſary, 'that it muſt be winked at, and the other which 'deſerves no Favour. In ſome of the *Spaniſh*

'Colonie

'Colonies they want Proviſions, and theſe they 'muſt have ſome way or other; and therefore, 'this they ought to provide for: The other con-'ſiſts in receiving *European* Goods from Foreigners, 'which conſidering the Laws of *Spain*, and the 'Treaties ſubſiſting between her and other Nations, 'is equally iniquitous and deſtructive to both. But 'the Remedy of this too lies entirely in the Hands 'of the *Spaniards*; and, if inſtead of fitting out '*Guarda Coſtas*, the Miniſtry would fit out more 'Ships from *Spain* with greater Quantities of *Eu-'ropean* Goods, and ſend ſuch Fleets oftner, they 'would deſtroy this illicit Commerce, encreaſe the 'King of *Spain*'s Revenues, and very much oblige 'that Power, which of all others is capable of in-'juring *Spain* the moſt.

'The Method taken by the Court of *Spain* 'hitherto, has been, to make the Reports of her 'Governours in theſe Parts the Rule of her Con-'duct, and ſhe will be ever in the wrong, ſo long 'as ſhe does this. For the *Spaniſh* Governours 'being moſtly Men who purchaſe their Autho-'rity, they conſider in all things their own In-'tereſts, rather than that of the State. Their be-'ing upon the ſpot, gives them a great Opportu-'nity, not only of Gloſſing their own Behaviour, 'but of Miſrepreſenting the Nature of Things, 'and of Miſleading thoſe, who depend on their 'Veracity in ſtating of Facts. The Intereſt of a '*Spaniſh* Governour leads him to encourage an 'illicit Trade, tho' it be directly oppoſite to the 'Intereſt of his Maſter. It likewiſe leads him to 'commiſſion *Guarda Coſtas*, who plunder not the 'illicit Traders, but ſuch other Ships as come in 'their way. Thus the Governour gets by Smug-'gling, and borrows from it a Pretence, which 'gives him an Opportunity of getting by Plunder. 'This Man's Report muſt neceſſarily contain any

'thing

'thing rather than Truth, his Head and his For-
'tune are at ſtake, and nothing but probable
'Lyes can ſave them. This is the true Source of
'thoſe Deceptions which make the Conduct of
'the *Spaniſh* Miniſtry look like Madneſs: And be-
'cauſe the *French* purſue a Conduct directly op-
'poſite, therefore their Colonies ſeem to flouriſh
'by Enchantment.

'There is no Reaſon to apprehend that the *Eng-*
'*liſh* will ever think it their Intereſt to make any
'great Conqueſts in *America*; becauſe it is not eaſy
'to diſcern any Uſe they would be of to them.
'The Native Commodities of their Iſland, their
'own Manufactures, and the Trade which they car-
'ry on to their own Colonies, is ſufficient to make
'them rich, and to ſupport their Maritime Pow-
'er. Should they ever fall into any other Method
'of Acquiring of Wealth, than by Labour and In-
'duſtry, they would meet the Fate of the *Spani-*
'*ards*; their Shipping would decreaſe, and their
'Trade be leſſen'd, their People would be cor-
'rupted, all things would be ſet to Sale, the Love
'of Money would become the univerſal Paſſion,
'and the Thirſt of Riches would prove their De-
'ſtruction. Without doubt, it was a Foreſight of
'this, that reſtrained ſome of their greateſt Stateſ-
'men from puſhing their Conqueſts in this Part
'of the World. In the Reign of the famous
'Q. *Elizabeth*, the *Engliſh* exerted themſelves ſuc-
'ceſsfully in diſtreſſing the *Spaniards* in *Europe*
'and *America*; but they made no Conqueſts: and
'in this, the Wiſdom of that Queen's Councils ſuf-
'ficiently appears. It is the Fault of minor Poli-
'ticians, who prefer preſent Advantage to all other
'Conſiderations, that ever this Propoſition was
'called in doubt; nor do I believe that any Man
'of good Senſe, and well acquainted with Hiſtory,

'ever

'ever ſeriouſly advanced the contrary, tho' for 'political Purpoſes he might ſeem to do it.

'While the *Spaniards* are poſſeſs'd of their 'Mines, they will take care, as far as in them lies, 'to come at their Contents; and this being done, 'the *Engliſh* will always have their Share of the 'Treaſures of *Peru*, in a Time either of Peace, 'or of War. During a Time of Peace, Silver is 'conſidered as a Commodity, eſpecially by the '*Spaniards*, who have no other Way of coming at 'the Neceſſaries of Life, much more at its Con-'veniences, or the Inſtruments of Luxury, but by 'the Exchange of this Commodity. A Man can 'neither eat, drink, nor wear Silver; and while 'the *Engliſh* are poſſeſs'd of thoſe Things which 'the *Spaniards* want and muſt have, it is a clear 'Caſe, that by way of Equivalent they muſt ſhare 'in their Treaſures. It is true that the *Spaniards*, 'ſince the Acceſſion of a Prince of the Houſe of '*Bourbon*, have ſhewn ſome Marks of Diſlike to 'the *Engliſh*, and ſo they have done heretofore. 'But after all, it is more their Intereſt to trade 'with them, than with any other *European* Na-'tion; and in the End it will be found ſo. For, 'with reſpect to other Nations, they take all in 'Silver; whereas the *Engliſh* take a great deal in 'Goods. In a Time of Peace, therefore, the *Eng-'liſh* will have a great Trade here, and a large 'Share in the Returns from *Peru*. They will alſo 'indemnify themſelves for the Loſs of their Trade, 'by their Captures in a War; that is, whenever 'they think fit to act vigorouſly, and to make Repa-'ration of Damages the principal Aim of their Ex-'peditions. This will at once benefit themſelves, 'and bring their Enemies to accept ſuch Terms 'as they ſhall think fit to preſcribe; which will 'never be very hard ones, becauſe on a Peace, 'mutual Benefits are to be made by Trade.

'There

'There was a Project in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, 'which exceedingly terrify'd the *Spaniards*; and 'it is a Project always in the power of the *Engliſh* 'to execute; tho' I know not whether ever it will 'be expedient. I mean the fortifying the Iſland 'of *Providence*; which tho' it could not be done 'without a great Expence, yet when once done, 'it would be a ſtronger Check upon the *Spaniards*, 'than taking from them any Part of their Do-'minions. After this, the preſent Method of con-'veying the Treaſure into *Europe* muſt be laid 'aſide, or be abſolutely dependent upon the *Eng-'liſh*. It is not impoſſible but another Method 'of Conveying it might be found; but then this 'would prove the Deſtruction of all the *Spaniſh* 'Settlements that are now in being; new Cities 'muſt be erected, new Roads made, and new 'Havens fortified; or on the other hand, as I ſaid 'before, ſuch Conceſſions muſt be made to *Great 'Britain*, as would leave it no way her Intereſt to 'diſturb the Navigation as it now ſtands.

'As long as a War can be avoided in theſe Parts 'of the World, both Nations will find their Advan-'tages in it; but, if the Diſpoſitions of the *Spaniſh* 'Miniſtry ſhould make it inevitable, the Conſe-'quence will be the proclaiming their own Weak-'neſs to the whole World. For tho' it may be true 'that the fortified Places in the *Weſt-Indies* are in a 'much better Condition than they were formerly; 'and that the *Spaniards*, notwithſtanding the great 'Blow on the Coaſt of *Sicily*, may have a greater 'Naval Force than at the Acceſſion of the preſent 'King; yet this is nothing in compariſon of the 'Maritime Force of the *Engliſh*, which during a 'War, will daily encreaſe in the *Weſt-Indies*, 'while that of *Spain* diminiſhes, and one Place 'is loſt after another. Theſe Wounds too will be 'mortal with reſpect to them; while any Loſſes

'the *Engliſh* ſuſtain will be but Scratches. A few 'Men of War loſt in taking a ſtrong Port, will 'not be felt by them; for they can put as many 'more upon the Stocks immediately; and the 'People, inſtead of being diſpirited, would feel 'their Courage rouzed by ſuch an Oppoſition. 'Whereas the Deſtruction of *Carthagena*, and 'the *Havanna*, would be irreparable to the *Spa-* 'niards; it would be not only the Work of half 'a Century to ſet them to rights again, but it 'would ſink them in the Opinion of their Al- 'lies, and of all the Potentates of *Europe*: Lay 'their Trade open to Smugglers of all Nations; 'and perhaps beget a new Swarm of Buccaneers.

'In *Spain* nothing of this Sort is apprehended, 'but it is never the leſs certain for that: The 'Taking of *Carthagena* by the *French*, was look'd 'upon as a Chimæra, but it took Effect, tho' the 'Squadron which performed that Exploit, was 'no way comparable to that lately ſent by the '*Engliſh* Nation into the *Weſt-Indies*.

'There are ſome who would paſs for refined 'Stateſmen, that are continually talking of the 'Poſſibility of ſtripping *Spain* of her *Indies*; but 'with reſpect to this, two Conſiderations will 'ariſe. *Firſt*, Whether the Thing be Practicable; 'And, *Secondly*, Whether it be Expedient. The 'Firſt who propagated this Opinion, was Father '*Gage*, the Prime Author of *Cromwell*'s Attempts 'againſt *Spain*. He had ſpent many Years in '*New Spain*, and therefore might be ſuppoſed to 'know a great deal of this matter: But two 'Things may be objected againſt him, on his 'own Authority; I mean, from a View of his 'Writings. That he was a Man of a weak 'Judgment, and of little Veracity. He aſſerts 'of his own Knowledge, that *Indians* by the 'Power of the *Devil* become *Wolves*, and after-

'wards re-aſſume a human Form; and he relates 'Stories of his Tranſactions at *Rome*, inconſiſtent 'with themſelves, and with the Times. It was 'this Man, who ſet on foot the Expedition to '*Hiſpaniola*, in which, if I miſtake not, he died. 'How little, Things anſwered then to his De-'ſcription, is ſo well known, that I wonder much 'Regard has been paid to it ſince; eſpecially as all 'Writers agree that the *Spaniſh* Settlements im-'prove, tho' but ſlowly. That the *Engliſh* might 'diſpoſſeſs them of *Porto Rico*; what they poſſeſs 'of *Hiſpaniola*; or of *Cuba*; I will not diſpute: 'but I think the Conqueſt of any two of theſe 'Places at one and the ſame Time impracticable. 'There is a great Difference between Plundering 'of Coaſts and Conquering a Country; becauſe 'ſome Men, and eſpecially *Spaniards*, may defend 'but faintly a Part of their Properties, and yet fight 'deſperately, rather than become Beggars. As to 'their Poſſeſſions on the Continent, tho' they are 'thinly peopled in proportion to the Extent of 'the Country, yet the *Spaniſh* Viceroys in Time 'would aſſemble much more numerous and formi-'dable Armies, than could be compoſed out of 'Troops ſent to attack them. To which if we 'add, Their Knowledge of the Country, the Ad-'vantages they may take by fortifying Paſſes, 'Fords, *&c.* and above all, their being ſeaſoned 'to the Climate; We ſhall not be inclined to 'credit what ſome bold Adventurers aſſert, that '*New Spain* would be an eaſy Conqueſt.

'That which ſeems to have given greateſt Pro-'bability to this Notion is, the Hiſtories we have 'of the Buccaneers. Yet even theſe are ſwallowed 'crudely, otherwiſe they would demonſtrate juſt the 'reverſe of what they are generally cited to prove. 'We are told that if Buccaneers did ſuch and 'ſuch things, regular Forces might be expected to

'do

'do ſtill more. I ſay now, Buccaneers are prefer-
'able to all Forces for many Reaſons. They fight
'in their own Cauſe, upon their own Plans, and
'what they get that they have. This is a great
'matter. After the great Battle of *Belgrade*, we are
'told that ſome *German* Officers ſhared by the Sale
'of their Plunder three or four hundred Ducats.
'But a private Man amongſt theſe Fellows hath
'often had thouſands of Pieces of Eight for his
'Share. In the next Place, theſe Men are the beſt
'diſciplined Troops in the World; give them
'Horſes they are Dragoons; take them away, they
'are Foot; bring them to a River, they ſwim it;
'lead them to the Sea-Shore, they are in their pro-
'per Element. They have amongſt them all Trades,
'Carpenters, Sail-makers, Engineers, and what
'not. If they have Ships, they know how to uſe
'them; if they have none, they can make Canoes.
'I grant they are very irregular in their Conduct,
'but in all theſe reſpects they are preferable to re-
'gular Troops. Yet the greateſt Exploits theſe
'Men have done were always by Surprize, nor
'did they ever pretend to keep or fortify any Place
'they took. This muſt not be aſcribed to their
'want of competent Force, becauſe they have
'been ſometimes ſtrong enough to fight a *Spaniſh*
'Squadron, and by the help of their ill Manage-
'ment to beat them. But it muſt be aſcribed to its
'true Cauſe, the ſuperiour Strength of the *Spaniards*
'in thoſe Parts, when they recover from their A-
'mazement, and come to act under the Com-
'mand of proper Officers. Theſe are but Hints,
'yet may eaſily be improved from the old *Engliſh*
'Relations, which are the faireſt and beſt Accounts
'extant in any Language, and are exceedingly eſ-
'teemed even by the *Spaniards* themſelves. The
'true Cauſe of this is, that the *Engliſh* Miniſters
'in thoſe Days maintained abundance of Spies,

'both in *Europe* and *America*, who ſent them 'Copies of State-Papers, Memorials, and other 'authentick Intelligence, on which their Expedi-'tions were grounded, and thoſe who were en-'truſted with the Command in ſuch Expeditions, 'acted on the ſame Plan; their Memoirs therefore 'may well appear in a different Light from thoſe, 'which fell from the Pens of Men of ſmall Capa-'city, and who derived all their Lights from a 'rambling Diſpoſition.

'But letting this paſs, and ſuppoſing ſuch Con-'queſts were practicable, would they be expedient? 'If the *Engliſh* diſpoſſeſſed the *Spaniards*, they 'muſt keep the Places themſelves, or they muſt 'give them to ſome other Nations. Would the 'reſt of *Europe* ſuffer the firſt? Or can *England* 'part with People enow to maintain ſuch extend-'ed Conqueſts? Theſe are things that ought to be 'very ſeriouſly conſidered, I mean, whenever it 'ſhall be thought proper to attempt ſuch Conqueſts. 'On the other hand, have not the *Engliſh* greater 'Advantages from the *Spaniards* poſſeſſing theſe 'Countries, than if they were poſſeſſed by them-'ſelves, or by any other Nation? They ſhare in 'the Silver of *Potoſi*, tho' they do not dig it. If 'they were Maſters of the Mines, they muſt dig it 'before they had it; if another Nation poſſeſſed it 'who could ſupply their People with their own 'Manufactures, they would have no Share at all; 'theſe are Points that ought to be diſcuſs'd before 'the Ruin of the *Spaniſh* Empire in *America* be 'thought either a Thing expedient, or a Thing 'indifferent to *Great Britain*. In a general Con-'verſation, theſe Things are not thought of, even 'by Men of great Parts, and will never occur to 'thoſe haſty Projectors who have nothing in view 'but the gratifying their own Prejudices, or 'raiſing to themſelves great Fortunes, from the

'Schemes

'Schemes they propoſe, of making one great Na-
'tion the Inſtrument of ruining another.

'I muſt allow that there is another Method of
'taking the *Spaniſh* Empire of *America*, or at leaſt
'the far greateſt part of it quite away; without
'embarking Troops, with a moderate Expence,
'and by the help only of a reaſonable Squadron.
'This I believe was firſt excogitated in the Coun-
'cils of King *William* III. after *Lewis* XIV. had
'determined to place his Grandſon on the *Spaniſh*
'Throne. But this Method is not by any means
'fit for me to expatiate on. Such things ought
'never to be thought on, but when all hopes of Re-
'conciliation are taken away, and when a Nation
'is reduced to ſuch a paſs, as that ſhe may juſtly
'think all Expedients lawful. But as this never
'can be the caſe of the People of *Great Britain*,
'I do not imagine ſuch a Propoſition will ever be
'thought proper or expedient.

'To conclude, the Conſequences of a War in
'*America*, muſt without unaccountable Miſma-
'nagements be extremely glorious to the *Britiſh*
'Arms, and will be the Touchſtone which muſt
'ſhew to all the World the Baſeneſs of *Spaniſh*
'Metal. It will demonſtrate that nothing but the
'Modeſty of the *Engliſh* hinders them from triumph-
'ing at any time over ſuch feeble Enemies, and that
'they are reſtrained even in their juſt Revenge,
'by a Conſciouſneſs of their Superiority. If
'once in a Century the Pride and Folly of *Spain*
'requires that her Ports ſhould be deſtroyed and
'her Cities laid waſte, it muſt be done; but it will
'be done with Reluctance, eſpecially by ſo brave a
'People, who inſtead of exulting are aſhamed of un-
'equal Victories, and ſee with ſorrow thoſe Chaſ-
'tiſements the Madneſs of their Enemies made ne-
'ceſſary. Such a Conduct will gain the Reſpect,

'without

'without losing the Affection of other Nations; they
'will see with Surprize what mighty things the
'*British* Power is capable of performing, and how
'little the Nation is inclined to play the Tyrant,
'who of all *European* Nations has it most in her
'Power: Who owes to God and Nature only
'her offensive and defensive Arms; and who re-
'members in the use of them, that they are ac-
'countable to him who gave them, tho' to no
'other Power.'

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